FBIS DAILY REPORT

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FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SUSPENSION OF CSCE MEETING

Romania's Dactu Speech

AU122051 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 12 Mar (AGERPRES) -- Taking the floor at the March 12 session of the all-European meeting, the Romanian chief delegate, Ambassador Ion Datcu, stressed that another postponement of concluding the meeting can be of joy to nobody and does not serve the credibility the all-European forum must enjoy among public opinion, among the European peoples.

After referring to the atmosphere of confrontation instaurated [as received] during the meeting which made the continuation of negotiations impossible and after highlighting the importance of the agreement reached following the efforts made by numerous countries, the Romanian representative said:

The pledge to continue the negotiations and to conclude them through a substantial and balanced final document on the basis of the draft document advanced by the neutral and nonaligned countries shows, in the opinion of the Romanian delegation, that we must not let ourselves [be] influenced by difficult moments which can intervene in the relations among some states, by the exacerbation of the differences of opinions, and that the joint interests of all the 35 participating states must prevail under all circumstances, no matter how difficult they would be.

Romania considers that everything possible should be done for surmounting the present tensions and reverting to a policy of detente and collaboration, of respect for all states' independence, for maintaining what has been covenanted so far at the meeting and is included in the draft final document of the neutral and nonaligned countries. As far as the solutions of compromise advanced by these states in view of surmounting the existing divergencies are concerned, we are of the opinion that further efforts for understand and growing political will are necessary to reach an agreement which should take into account everybody's interests as well as the imperatives of developing the CSCE process. The fruit of our negotiations can be but a compromise, of course. Taking action for achieving this compromise, the participating states must manifest themselves so as the common denominator of the interests of the 35 be as high as possible. [as received]

An obvious truth has often been said here, that is that confidence cannot be built as long as the aberrant arms race still exists -- the speaker further said. We must permanently bear in mind the fact that the peoples of this continent declare firmly for the halting of the arms race which puts life and human civilization in jeopardy. That is why the Romanian delegation adoption of confidence-building measures, to the achievement of military disengagement and disarmament in Europe, to the convening during the Madrid meeting of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe.

Romania's representative expressed in conclusion his hope that, through the concerted efforts of all the participating states, the all-European forum would conclude with positive results in harmony with the European peoples' expectations, with the exigencies imposed by the current international situation.

GDR Official Comments

LD140756 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Interview with Amb Peter Steglich, head of the GDR delegation to the CSCE meeting, by correspondent Guenther Leuschner in Madrid 12 Mar -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Steglich, another break in the Madrid CSCE conference is surely not a result desired by the socialist countries?

[Answer] That's right. At Madrid, the delegations from the GDR and the other socialist states have never made any secret about the fact that they do not regard an interruption, especially for a relatively long period, as desirable. We have repeatedly indicated that it is necessary and possible to complete work at the beginning of 1982. The reason is simple. The aggravated international situation and its deterioration urgently requires new efforts for detente, especially of course in the military field, but also for improved cooperation between states with differing social systems.

As a result, the socialist states did what they could after work was resumed in February to contribute to mutually acceptable solutions. A good concrete basis for this incidentally was available: the neutral and nonaligned states draft for a concluding document.

A successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting would have been a significant intiative toward the continuation, or rather, the revival of the process of detente, especially today. This chance, soberly assessed, has, at least for the present, been wasted. It is obvious who bears responsibility for this -- the United States and other NATO states. At every meeting they have systematically boycotted all businesslike work.

[Question] How do you then, assess the U.S. attitude here during the past few weeks?

[Answer] Let me begin with the following fact. The United States condemned the Madrid meeting to failure even before it began. A conference that is to give impetus to detente, including military detente, does not fit into the concept of a confrontation and the attempt, through an insane arms drive, to regain military supremacy over the socialist states. As a conference designed to reinforce the Helsinki Final Act, and therefore also the code of principles this Final Act is unwelcome to those who intervene brutally in the internal affairs of the socialist states and, wherever possible, slander the latter. However, constructive attitudes, patience and the willingness to compromise on the part of the socialist states have so far foiled the intentions of the United States and other NATO states to have the meeting fail, that is, break it off without achieving results. In fact, last year in particular, some concrete results were achieved. The outcome was a comprehensive draft for a final document. It has on the agenda the problem of military detente and the convening of a conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament. This was, if you like, a signal for the United States to attack. Under the dubious pretext of events in Poland, they thought they could give the meeting a sort of death blow. All business-like work was blocked. The NATO states put the neutral and nonaligned states, whose desire for a successful outcome of this meeting is undisputed, in a difficult situation. Under pressure, the neutral and nonaligned states therefore proposed a lengthy recess.

[Question] The direct result of the decision taken is a further delay in important resolutions for continuing the policy of detente in Europe. Are there any other far-reaching dangers in addition to this?

[Answer] Yes, I'm afraid so. The decision most awaited and called for by Europeans at Madrid -- one that would promote the policy of detente -- has still not been taken. Here I'm thinking above all of initiatives serving military detente, in particular confidence-building measures, but above all disarmament in Europe. The proposals put forward by the Warsaw Treaty states at the Madrid meeting regarding an all-European conference on issues of military detente, which has been recognized as necessary by several Western countries since then, is being put off once again. This of course has a negative effect on the solution of the most important issue of our time, preventing war, also being put off are decisions conducive to an improved, more trusting cooperation between the signatory countries of the Helsinki Final Act in the most diverse areas.

You have asked about further far-reaching dangers. Without wishing to be pessimistic, we are (?increasing) them. The interruption of the meeting is a further symptom of intentions by the United States and some of its closest allies to bury detente.

These states' attitude at the Madrid conference also indicates the dangerous attempts to turn the Helsinki Final Act into an instrument of confrontation and interference. This undermines the Final Act. But those who undermine the Final Act, and (its principles) in particular, are also plant'ng mines under the process begun in Helsinki. It's therefore not just a question of a positive outcome to the Madrid meeting, something we are of course continuing to fight for, but also the process itself.

This in turn is not a separate political phenomenon, but an element of the worldwide efforts for peace, security and detente. The process must be channelled toward this ultimate function. The GDR, together with the other socialist states, will continue particularly when the meeting resumes, to do everything toward this end.

Raps U.S. NATO Actions

LD122326 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1819 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 12 Mar (ADN) -- "The United States and other NATO states have blocked the Madrid conference." This was stated by the GDR spokesman Amb Peter Steglich, at the plenary meeting of the Madrid gathering on Friday. The course of confrontation pursued by the United States and other NATO allies poisoned the atmosphere at the conference and gravely harmed the confidence among the participating states. The conference has not come closer to its aim of imparting fresh impulses to detente, security and cooperation.

Every initiative of the socialist states and activities of the neutral and nonaligned countries for fruitful work ran into opposition from the United States and some of its NATO partners. They rejected negotiations aimed at detente and backed confrontation.

The responsibility for the situation which has now arisen rests with those who want to choke off the process of detente and who condemned the Madrid conference to failure before it began. The responsibility must be borne by those who, by dialogue, meant interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and who met appeals for businesslike work with a wall of silence.

Ambassador Steglich stressed that the aim of the activities of the GDR delegation, as other socialist countries delegations, at all stages of the conference was to find by businesslike negotiations solutions corresponding to the interests of all participating states. This will remain so in the future, as well a positive conclusion of the Madrid conference was not only possible but urgently necessary. "The international situation which gives cause for great concern faces us with the urgent necessity of carrying the Madrid conference to a successful conclusion. Its decisions must strengthen cooperation, help to dismantle confrontation and above all advance military detente in Europe," the GDR spokesman said.

About the adjournment of the conference Ambassador Steglich said that those who in the past had prevented any businesslike activity and result of the conference must change their position. They should replace confrontation with sincere negotiations and the arms drive and attempts to achieve military superiority by agreements on military detente and disarmament.

The fate of the conference affected the prospects of the CSCE process initiated by the Helsinki Final Act as a whole. The GDR spokesman drew attention to the importance of military detente and the necessity of convening a conference on building confidence and disarmament in Europe. This is and remains the central issue of the Madrid conference. "Agreement on this will pave the way for a successful outcome of the conference and comprehensive and balanced concluding document on all parts of the Final Act." Peace-promoting results of the conference are vitally important for all European states and peoples.

Hungary's Papp Views Session

LD131130 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 12 Mar (MTI) -- By assessing the work of the Madrid meeting's spring session, Mrs. Istvanne Papp, head of department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and member of the Hungarian delegation, said the following at the Friday full meeting:

"It was impossible to implement the session's task, the elaboration of the final document, because a part of the delegations were reluctant to participate talks on drafting the document."

"Moreover, they made efforts to work their will upon the meeting," said the Hungarian delegate referring to the resolutions of the leading bodies of the Common Market and the NATO. "Everybody knows who is responsible for this."

"Despite the tense international situation and the problems emerged in the course of the meeting, the Hungarian delegation is not pessimistic because each participating delegation has pledged itself to the Helsinki process," stressed Mrs. Istvanne Papp.

SFRY's Vrhovec on Nonaligned

LD132348 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Madrid, 13 Mar (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec today stated that non-aligned and neutral countries are giving a "profound and lasting contribution to all-European cooperation and security."

In a statement to the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, Vrhovec stressed the growing role of the neutral and nonaligned countries as a "new positive identity" in Europe.

Vrhovec took part in the work of the Madrid follow-up. He also met with Spanish Premier Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo.

Assessing the conference's work, Vrhovec stressed the existence of "will and efforts" to have the Helsinki process preserved and enriched. He also said that the meeting "was not unfruitful since agreement was achieved concerning most of the final document despite all difficulties."

In this context, Vrhovec expressed the view that the draft final documents, submitted by non-aligned and neutral countries, "offers a solid basis for the achievement of the final agreement".

Cautioning that the Madrid follow-up is suffering the affects of the global bloc conflicts, the Yugoslav foreign secretary expressed conviction that the session has been adjourned only to be successfully resumed and closed in better circumstances.

BREZHNEV MISSILE ACTION REQUIRES U.S. RESPONSE

AU162115 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 16 Mar 82

[BTA commentator Khristo Radev -- "A Call To Mankind"]

[Text] Sofia, 16 Mar (BTA) -- Today mankind got one more irrefutable proof of the sincere love of peace of the Soviet Union. As Leonid Brezhnev announced, the Soviet medium-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union will be "frozen" in both quantitative and qualitative respect.

The new initiative comes as a logical continuation of the series of constructive Soviet peace proposals this year. The idea of moratorium upon the medium-range nuclear weapons has a several-year-old history. In spite of its significance, it did not find the necessary response among the leading circles of the United States and NATO. The decision of the Soviet leadership to undertake practical actions and thus create condition for the solving of this important problem is a good example for everyone to follow, for all those who truly cherish peace in the world and the security of peoples. It contains one more significant component. The Soviet Union intends to cut unilaterally a certain amount of its medium-range missiles as early as this year. The sole precondition for the undertaking of this next step is for the international situation not to suffer any further deterioration. The aim of these actions is clear. It is prompted by the wish of introducing calm in the relationship between the East and the West, of halting the arms race, of saving the peoples from the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The initiative of the Soviet Union stands out particularly powerfully against the background of the present exceptionally complicated and strained international situation. The cause of the tension is well known. It standsbehind the militaristic and aggressive policy of NATO, headed by the United States of America, and it is by no means accidental that up to now the United States were deliberately avoiding a participation in a serious discussion and settlement of mankind's vitally important issues of nuclear disarmament, and the problems of war and peace.

The decision of the Soviet leadership for unilateral practical actions in defence of peace in Europe is a call to mankind. This decision will undoubtedly receive a high evaluation and staunch support from all people who care for the future. It requires an explicit and accurate response on the part of the United States and NATO. This response will actually reveal their attitude towards the fate of peace in the world. If this new step undertaken solo by the Soviet Union fails to result in serious negotiations and agreements on the medium-range nuclear missiles it will immediately become clear for everyone that the whole responsibility is to be borne by the United States of America.

USSR SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION ARRIVES IN SOFIA

AU171037 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] At the invitation of Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation arrived on an official visit in Sofia a short while ago. The delegation is headed by Mikhail Solomentsev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was welcomed at Sofia Airport by Stanko Todorov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly and numerous ministers. Nikita Tolubeyev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Bulgaria, was also among those present at the airport.

ZHIVKOV CONTINUES VISIT TO KUWAIT, OPENS TALKS

Meets Prime Minister

AU161126 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Our special correspondent Aleksandur Vladkov will now report on Comrade Todor Zhivkov's second day in Kuwait:

[Begin Valdkov recording] The official talks between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad as-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, began this morning. Participating in the talks on the Bulgarian side were the Comrades Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union; Georgi Eftimov, chairman of the State Committee on Tourism; Asen Zlatanov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Kuwait; and numerous other officials. Participating on the Kuwaiti side were Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah as-Salim as-Sabah, prime minister and heir to the throne; 'Abd al-Aziz Husayn, minister of state for cabinet affairs and acting minister of foreign affairs; as well as other members of the government.

Questions of bilateral economic, trade, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation were discussed in a frank and businesslike atmosphere. It was ascertained with satisfaction that this cooperation has marked an intensive development in recent years, which provides an opportunity for the implementation of new, long-term projects.

Later on, Comrade Todor Zhivkov and those accompanying him, together with official representatives of the Kuwaiti side, proceeded by sea to the island of Eilaka, which is situated about 20 miles from the city at the entrance of the Gulf of Kuwait. The island is remarkable for its ancient archeological sites dating back 3,000 years, which are of great interest for the history of Kuwait and for the development of the most ancient civilizations. On arrival at the island, Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the amir of Kuwait were welcomed by the governor of the city of Kuwait, after which they visited the archeological museum on the island.

Later during the day, the chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Kuwait will be introduced to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, while a meeting with the Bulgarian colony in Kuwait is planned for the evening. [end recording]

Embassy Speech

AU162045 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who is paying an official friendly visit to Kuwait, met the members of the Bulgarian Embassy and their families and with Bulgarian specialists working in Kuwait at the Sayf Palace tonight. Our first party and state leader, who was particularly cordially welcomed, delivered a speech. He spoke about the basic problems which are being resolved in the present stage of building a developed socialist society at home and about the fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. Comrade Todor Zhivkov outlined the main tasks of the socioeconomic development of the country in 1982, the Eighth 5-Year Plan and up to the end of 1990 and also touched on the basic points of the new economic approach and new economic mechanism.

Speaking on some topical international problems, he emphasized that in the present exacerbated international situation, there is no more major task than that of securing peace and strengthening the world's security. This is the basic goal of the consistent and principled foreign policy of the BCP and the Bulgarian state. Touching on his talks and meetings with the amir of Kuwait, Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized that they were useful and fruitful. He expressed the conviction that the results of these talks will give a further impetus to the cooperation between Bulgaria and Kuwait in the economy, trade and other spheres of mutual interest.

DAILY REPORTS MLADENOV DINNER TOAST IN OSLO

AU161216 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 82 pp 1-7

[L. Kasavetov, BTA special correspondent, report from Oslo on 11 March official dinner given by Sven Stray, Norwegian minister of foreign affairs, in honor of the visiting Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs]

[Excerpts] Sven Stray, minister of foreign affairs of Norway, gave an official dinner in honor of Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. The dinner proceeded in a friendly atmosphere. The two ministers proposed toasts.

Minister Peter Mladenov, in his reply, expressed satisfaction at the recent development of Bulgarian-Norwegian relations. The fact that the two countries belong to two different social systems should by no means be an obstacle to their normal political contacts, he stressed. Provided that there is good will and mutual understanding, similar and close stands can always be found on a series of important international issues. Great opportunities also exist for a mutually advantageous and harmonious increase in the exchange of goods and for an intensification of industrial and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as for an expansion and diversification of cultural relations, Petur Mladenov added.

Unfortunately, we have recently been able to observe certain trends in the international atmosphere about which we cannot help being concerned. We think that today more than ever it is necessary to search for effective ways and means of preventing the danger of thermonuclear conflict that threatens the world of giving new impetus to detente and disarmament. The only method of achieving this goal consists of negotiations, based on the principles of equal rights and equal security.

This is the basis on which the talks in Madrid should be conducted, Petur Mladenov continued. He pointed out the necessity of devoting efforts to achieve a successful conclusion of this meeting by adopting resolutions on the consolidation of security and on expanding cooperation in the spirit of the final Helsinki document, and by convening a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe.

Minister Petur Mladenov emphasized that all the foreign policy efforts of the people's Republic of Bulgaria are aimed at the consolidation of peace and security. This is confirmed by the relations between Bulgaria and its Balkan neighbors, relations which have never been as good as they are today, as well as by Bulgaria's aspirations to transform the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone. Minister Mladenov stated that the establishment of nuclear-free zones in other parts of the world would have a beneficial effect upon detente and peace in general.

Minister Petur Mladenov ended his toast by expressing confidence that Bulgarian-Norwegian relations would contribute to the development of bilateral relations on a higher level and that they would also contribute to the consolidation of peace, security and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

BCP GREETINGS TO AFGHAN PARTY CONFERENCE

AU161354 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent a greetings message to the delegates attending the national party conference of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The message conveys ardent greetings to the delegates and wishes for successful and fruitful work.

The Afghan people are today building their new society, based on social justice, under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. The victory of the April Revolution, and its second stage, in particular, provoked the violent opposition of the former exploiters' classes and strata in that country. International imperialism, in conspiracy with the Chinese hegemonists and with regional reaction, began an overt aggression against the liberated people of Afghanistan, the BCP greeting message further reads.

The Bulgarian communists and working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely denounce the persistent, undeclared war waged against the sovereign state of Afghanistan and are in solidarity with the Afghan people's struggle to defend the further achievements of the April Revolution. The Bulgarian communists and working people highly appreciate the solid friendship and the manysided relations of cooperation which have been established between our two parties, countries and peoples. These relations have achieved a new stage of development following the meetings and talks held between Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, during the latter's recent official and friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The BCP Central Committee greeting message expresses confidence that the decisions adopted by the national party conference will contribute to the consolidation of the leading role played by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in building a new society and that these decisions will give an impetus to the struggle waged by the people of Afghanistan for peace, democracy and social progress, against imperialism, hegemonism and reaction.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HOLDS SESSION 16 MAR

AU162055 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] At its session today the Council of Ministers approved amendments and changes in the regulation of the treaties among the socialist organizations, in the regulation of the engineering-development organizations and in the regulation of (?housing) construction. Thus these documents have been brought in line with the new regulation of the economic mechanism.

The Council of Ministers also discussed certain issues concerning the fulfillment of the uniform plan on the socioeconomic development of the country in the first quarter of 1982. The Council of Ministers obliged the leadership of the economic organizations and the ministries to undertake measures to render concrete assistance to the lagging enterprises in order to secure the necessary conditions for a successful fulfillment of the counter-plans' tasks by the working collectives in all enterprises during the first quarter of 1982.

BRIEFS

KUBADINSKI IN TURGOVISHTE OKRUG -- On 4 March Comrade Pencho Kubadinski visited Turgovishte Okrug. Accompanied by Ivan Gruev, first secretary of the Turgovishte Okrug BCP Committee, and other officials, he took part in a celebration in Antonovo which marked the beginning of the construction of a memorial complex honoring the partizans of the okrug. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Mar 82 AU]

PRACE ON BREZHNEV STATEMENT ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS

LD170916 Prague CTK in English 0810 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Prague, 17 Mar (CTK) -- The fact that even in the present complicated international situation Soviet leading representative Leonid Brezhnev comes out with a proposal for a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons proves the wish for peace and the conviction that a mutually acceptable agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States is possible, PRACE wrote today.

The daily said that the new Soviet initiative delivered by Leonid Brezhnev at the current trade union congress in Moscow is a momentous step based on a deep analysis of international relations. The firm basis of the Soviet foreign policy rests in the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, consistent struggle for peace, friendship and cooperation between nations. On the contrary, imperialist circles of the United States continue to step up the arms race, and every pretext to justify this hard line is good enough for them -- Afghanistan yesterday, Poland today, and tomorrow they will find a new one.

Nevertheless the United States and the other NATO members will have to take a stand on this Soviet initiative, which means a new hope for the European Continent, since they cannot infinitely boycott sincere effort for an agreement which is in the interest of all mankind, the daily said.

ALOIS INDRA INTERVIEWED ON VISIT TO SYRIA

AU161221 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Mar 82 pp 1, 7

[Report on an interview given by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, to RUDE PRAVO and CTK special correspondents at the close of his visit to Syria in Damascus on 11 March]

[Text] At the close of his visit in Syria, Alois Indra gave an interview to RUDE PRAVO and CTK special correspondents. He said that the visit to friendly Syria was a real political mission. This was affirmed during all talks with the highest representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ba'th Party, the Palestine National Council and the Syrian Communist Party. The political nature of our visit was even more underscored by the current aggravated international situation and its alarming phenomena in the Middle East. The fact that we visited Syria not long after Israel illegally annexed the Golan Heights is also significant. The Syrian hosts especially appreciated the fact that our visit took place precisely at the time of the celebrations of the 19th anniversary of the victory of the revolution, headed by the Ba'th Party, A. Indra said.

I can say that during all our negotiations -- with Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Pan-Arab and National Command of the Ba'th Party and president of the republic; Prime Minister 'Abd ar-Ra'uf al-Kasm; 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs; (Muhmud Zubi), chairman of the People's Assembly; and 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Syrian Regional Command of the Ba'th Party -- were marked by the identity of our and Syrian views on the fundamental questions of the present aggravated international relations. Together with our hosts, we condemned the dangerous policy of the Reagan government which is jeopardizing world peace, international security and cooperation. We understandably devoted particular attention to the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East. We assured our Syrian friends of our full support for the just cause of the Arab people and agreed that everything must be done to maintain peace and the policy of detente.

Our visit to Syria is a part of a broad current of bilateral relations which link our republic with this important country in the Middle East. I would like to recall, A. Indra said, that Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad visited Czechoslovakia in 1975 and Comrade Gustav Husak was in Syria in 1979. I myself led a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation to this country 7 years ago.

These good political relations are being positively reflected in the economy, culture, education, health care and other spheres. During our meeting with Syrian Prime Minister al-Kasm, we paid considerable attention to the development of economic cooperation. We were very pleased to have found on the Syrian side the same will to develop comprehensive friendly relations and cooperation with our country which we also have vis-a-vis Syria. I would like to especially point out the importance which President Hafiz al-Asad attached during our meeting to the development of bilateral relations, and his great appreciation of the support provided by Czechoslovakia to the Syrian people in their difficult struggle against imperialism.

The highest representative and legislative agencies of the two countries are playing an important role in the broad range of Czechoslovak-Syrian relations, too. I think that our talks with the Syrian deputies, the same as the other talks, will also contribute their share to strengthening and developing the Czechoslovak-Syrian cooperation. A comradely meeting held with Khalid Bakdash, general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee, was marked by a spirit of absolute unity of views of the two countries' communist parties. We also met with Khalid Fahum, chairman of the Palestine National Council, with its seat in Damascus. It was a very cordial meeting, during which the Palestinian representative thanked us for the support extended by our repoblic to the fighting Palestinian people. We confirmed that we will continue this policy unswervingly in the future, A. Indra emphasized.

Our hosts also made it possible for us to visit some places outside Damascus. We were impressed most by the visit to the city of Al-Qunaytirah, destroyed in a barbarous manner by Israeli aggressors 8 years ago. Looking at the ruins left behind by the Israeli occupiers, we again felt the cruelty and the criminality of the war waged against the Arab people. Formerly it used to be the garden of Syria; today it is only a shambles. The Syrian Government has decided to leave the ruins as a memento of Zionist barbarity, and build a new Al-Qunaytirah, to breathe new life into this fertile region at the foot of the Golan Heights. We know that it will not be easy, because from the not too distant hills Israeli cannons are zeroed in on Al-Qunaytirah. And the Syrian people, like the Czechoslovak people, need peace above all to build their country. It must, of course, be a just peace, which will return to the Arab people all the territories unlawfully occupied in 1967.

At the end, I can say that our stay in Syria fulfilled our expectations. It showed that it is possible to even further develop our relations in the interest of peace, progress and security in the world, Alois Indra concluded.

INDRA RECEIVES USSR'S LUKYANOV 15 MAR

LD152244 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] Alois Indra, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, today received Anatoliy Lukyanov, chief of the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPSU Central Committee. The guest was also received by Vaclav David, chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, who presented him with a medal "for contribution to the development of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship."

As a lecturer of the Soviet societies for friendship and cultural contacts with foreign countries, he will deliver lectures devoted to the participation of the working people in the management of Soviet society. For 7 days he will lecture in Prague, Plzen, Brno and Bratislavia.

HOFFMANN LEAVES FOR AUCCTU CONGRESS IN MOSCOW

LD151126 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] A delegation of the Central Trade Union Council, led by Karl Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, left Prague today by air for the Soviet Union. In Moscow the delegation will take part in the 17th Congress of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions which begins tomorrow.

SLOVAK PRAVDA CRITICIZES U.S. SEA LAW STANCE

AU121340 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Mar 82 p 7

[Jozef Janto article in column "Foreign-Political Note": "Sabotage in the Name of Business"]

[Text] Throughout the world there is an ever-increasing demand for energy and raw materials. Certain resources located on the mainland -- for example oil and raw materials -- are becoming rapidly exhausted. But according to the current point of view and demand the seas and oceans contain an almost unexhaustible quantity of raw materials, particularly relatively rare metals, such as cobalt, manganese, nickel and copper.

It is not surprising therefore that the majority of countries are striving for this wealth to be applied in the interests of all states and nations as well as in the interest of the future generations. The United Nations' Conference on the Law of the Sea began its work some years ago. Its main objective was to work out and approve a convention "on the conduct of states in the sphere of the seas and oceans and on regulating the regime of the seabed."

Two years ago, after 8 years of tireless work, 150 states attending the conference agreed in essence on the definite validity of the convention. It was only necessary to take one more step for the wealth of the seas and oceans to begin serving all; to sign the convention. Even the American representative, who behaved most obstructively at the conference, declared at the end of the ninth session that the adoption of the treaty would be a significant step forward on the path of cooperation in this respect.

When the Carter government was replaced by the Reagan administration, however, the American representative declared at the 10th session last year that the United States did not agree with the convention that had been drawn up. The current, 11th, session of the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, which began on Monday, would have to practically annul the results of several years of work and start from scratch again! The U.S. delegation submitted to the 11th session a 43-page draft of changes and amendments pertaining to that part of the convention which deals with the sea bed regime. These in essence are ultimatum-like demands, whose objective is to ensure a free hand to American mining monopolies and private capital in general in plundering the common property of all mankind.

No wonder that the cynical attitude of the United States has evoked justified indignation among the overwhelming majority of countries, because it shows that the U.S. military-industrial complex is only after its own interests and profits. Because of its egoistic stance, the United States has become totally isolated and in this respect even its allies are afraid to support it.

PRESS VIEWS VISIT TO AUSTRIA BY AL-QADHDHAFI

RUDE PRAVO Report

AU161002 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 82 p 7

[Report by unnamed CTK correspondent: "M. al-Qadhdhafi in Austria" capitalized passage published in boldface]

[Text] Vienna, 10 Mar (CTK) -- The highest Libyan state representative, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, arrived for a 4-day visit to Vienna on Wednesday. He will have talks with Chancellor Bruno Kreisky on cooperation between Libya and Austria and on the international situation, above all in the Middle East.

Libya is Austria's important crude oil supplier.

CHANCELLOR KREISKY, on whose invitation the visit is taking place, HAS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED ACCUSATIONS VOICED MAINLY BY THE REAGAN GOVERNMENT, BUT ALSO BY AUSTRIAN REACTION, AGAINST LIBYA AND ITS HIGHEST REPRESENTATIVE, THAT THEY ALLEGEDLY SUPPORT "INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM."

PRAVDA Article

AU161518 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Bedrich Zagar Vienna dispatch: "There Is Only One Morality....; From Where Did the Winds Blow During M. al-Qadhdhafi's Visit to Austria"; capitalized passages printed in boldface]

[Text] THE VISIT BY THE HIGHEST LIBYAN REPRESENTATIVE MU'AMMAR AL-QADHDHAFI TO AUSTRIA HAS STIRRED GREAT COMMOTION NOT ONLY IN THE HOST COUNTRY ITSELF BUT ALSO AMONG THE MOST REACTIONARY CIRCLES IN THE WEST. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE LIBYAN CHIEF OF STATE HAD PAID AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO WESTERN EUROPE.

By accepting the Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's invitation, M. al-Qadhdhafi only reaffirmed that Libya is interested in developing relations with all countries regardless of social system. His talks in Vienna have yielded concrete and mutually beneficial results. Austria was interested especially in expanding trade relations and it has found a good partner in Libya -- it will receive for its exported goods one of the most precious mediums of payment: the black gold, crude oil. ON TOP OF THAT, THE EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ALSO HAS CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE -- IT CONTRIBUTES TO EASING THE INTERNATIONAL TENSION, TO UNDERSTANDING AND TO STRENGTHENING PEACE.

PRECISELY THIS CAUSED THE OUTRAGE OF IMPERIALIST CIRCLES IN THE WEST, WHICH -- THROUGH THE AUSTRIAN REACTIONARY OPPOSITION -- ATTACKED THE VISIT, TRIED TO DISCREDIT IT AND TO THWART ITS RESULTS.

The Austrian bourgeois press did not establish a good atmosphere for this visit and, what is more, it did not even respect the principles of good manners. By using all kinds of invectives and making insinuations that were not based on any facts it behaved in an unseemly manner toward the Austrian Government's official guest.

At a press conference in the Imperial Hotel in Vienna, where M. al-Qadhdhafi was staying, the bourgeois journalists asked provocative questions in the expectation that the answers would provide them with material for their campaign against the Libyan representative and the Libyan revolution as a whole. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, however, answered all the questions in a calm, matter-of-fact and skillful manner. The press did not even publish many of his answers because they persuasively refuted the propaganda lies and myths about Libya and its highest representative.

The representatives of the bourgeois press were not much interested in questions concerning the development of Austrian-Libyan relations but concentrated only on whether M. al-Qadhdhafi was the "father of terrorism" or whether Libya supported "terrorism."

The leader of the Libyan revolution gave a clear answer to these questions: "WE ARE AGAINST TERRORISM AND DO NOT SUPPORT IT. THESE LEGENDS ARE BEING SPREAD ABOUT US BY AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM.

"THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S AGGRESSIVE POLICY IS THE GREATEST THREAT TO THE WORLD. REAGAN WOULD LIKE TO DESTROY EUROPE IN A NUCLEAR WAR, HE WANTS TO DESTROY BOTH YOU AND US. THAT IS TERRORISM."

The Libyan representative elaborated on this issue even further. In his view, Reagan is intimidating the nations fighting for freedom militarily and by means of various embargoes and sanctions, is attacking Libya, Angola, Nicaragua, Cuba and Poland. The United States is teaming up even with the devil in its struggle against these countries. The next question was whether Al-Qadhdhafi conceded the possibility that the United States would attack Libya. "That cannot be ruled out, but if they decide to do so we will defend ourselves and, should the need arise, we will ask friends for help," Al-Qadhdhafi said. The bourgeois journalists' follow-up question could not be otherwise: What are your relations with the Soviet Union, they asked. M. al-Qadhdhafi gave a brief answer: "Very good."

Since the press conference did not supply the desired material for a tendentious campaign, the Austrian opposition and press that is well-disposed to it turned the card around and began to attack the Libyan representative, arguing that while visiting a third country he had insulted the American President because he called him a terrorist. The reality is completely different but it is typical of the reactionary press that it endeavors to fabricate tendentious conflicts for its propaganda. Ascribing the responsibility for terrorism to M. al-Qadhdhafi is not, according to the Austrian reaction, an insult but when M. al-Qadhdhafi expressed his view on terrorism -- which, in fact, he was asked to do by the representatives of the bourgeois press -- this amounted to an insult of a representative of a third country. It seems that for some people there are two different sets of moral standards, two different yardsticks....

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE INSPIRATION FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST M. AL-QADHDHAFI'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA CAME FROM OVERSEAS. THE AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES FINALLY EVEN HAD TO LISTEN AT THE APPROPRIATE PLACES IN WASHINGTON TO WORDS OF DISCONTENT WITH M. AL-QADHDHAFI'S VISIT TO AUSTRIA AND ITS COURSE. WAS THIS AN INDIRECT HINT THAT THE AUSTRIAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DARE ORGANIZE SUCH VISITS WITHOUT WASHINGTON'S APPROVAL? IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FIND A DIFFERENT TERM FOR THIS BUT GROSS INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY. The ordinary Austrian citizen, however, did not fail to notice that all the hue and cry around Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi was American propaganda.

HAVLIN LEAVES FOR INDIAN CP CONGRESS 16 MARCH

LD162326 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left today for the Indian Republic to attend the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of India.

KEMPNY RECEIVES ARAB PARLIAMENTARIANS 16 MARCH

LD161504 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The delegation of the Arab Parliamentary Union, led by 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Burawi, its general secretary, was received in Prague today by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council. He assured the delegation of the full support of our people for the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism and Zionism. He briefed the members of the delegation on the activities and tasks of the Czech National Council. A crucial aim of this organ, he said, is the active share in implementing the CPCZ social economic policy and in further deepening socialist democracy.

'Abd ar-Rahman al-Burawi briefed the deputies of the Czech National Council on the mission of the Arab Parliamentary Union which strives to deepen the unity and solidarity of the Arab parliaments and to coordinate the progress of its delegations in the international forum. An important task is establishing closer cooperation with the parliaments of the socialist countries. The delegation's visit to Czechoslovakia is to contribute toward this.

DISCUSSION OF SET OF MEASURES IN FOREIGN TRADE

AU161429 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Mar 82 p 3

[RUDE PRAVO roundtable, moderated by Svatopluk Smutny and Miloslav Vltavsky: "The Main Goal Is To Increase the Effectiveness of Exports; RUDE PRAVO Talk on the Cooperation of the Set of Measures in the Field of Foreign Trade"]

[Excerpts] Dr Eng Frantisek Fremund, director general of the Pragoexport foreign trade enterprise; Oldrich Havlicek, director of the First Brno engineering works; Eng Jaroslav Hnizdil, director of the Grain Mill machinery factories; Eng Ladislav Kubik, assistant professor and candidate of sciences from the Advanced School of Economics; Eng Miloslav Mikes, candidate of sciences and director general of the Skodaexport foreign trade enterprise; Prof Jaroslav Nykryn, doctor of sciences from the Advanced School of Economics; and Eng Vojtech Rousal, chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee's Economic Commission in the Kovo foreign trade enterprise, discussed the way the Set of Measures has influenced our export efficiency during the more than 1 year of its validity, and also what is still to be done to enhance it, during the RUDE PRAVO roundtable with Eng Ladislav Matejka, secretary of the government Committee for Matters of Planned Management of the National Economy, and Josef Pasek, CPCZ Central Committee worker.

How Do You Appraise the Operation of the Set of Measures to date, in Connection With Increasing our Economy's Export Efficiency?

O. Havlicek: Some principels of the set must be worked out more thoroughly, for instance in the sphere of final assembly, where their impact is insufficient. We consider it expedient to strengthen the function of the main supplier in the plan, and to set up a strong foreign trade organization for exports of turn-key plants.

J. Nykryn: I think that the Set of Measures in insufficiently affecting four basic sets of problems in our external economic relations. First, the significance of external economic relations is substantially larger than the various indexes indicate. Second, the CSSR is still insufficiently involved in the international division of labor. The third problem is our excessive production consumption, which weighs heavily on the balance of payments. And fourth is, I think, that the Set of Measures is insufficiently stimulating the adaptability of Czechoslovak production to world conditions. This is due to stereotype thinking and is manifested in obsolete technical norms, complicated legal provisions and so forth.

L. Kubik: The Set of Measures has opened the way to solving the problems of managing the economy.

V. Rousal: While in the past 5-year plans, our enterprise had an exprot character, currently imports are slightly predominant -- the ratio being 7:6. We are thus not succeeding in fulfilling the intentions of the 16th party congress. This is all the more serious, since, within the sphere of foreign trade, we are selling the products of eight large concerns and other enterprises. Herein we see the still-insufficient operation of the Set of Measures.

M. Mikes: The current foreign currency incentives are not sufficiently stimulating either for the main, or the sub-supplier. They must be expanded, and without any restrictive stipulations. I think it would be beneficial if the economic production units could resolve also some of their own problems, for instance their social program, from foreign currency incentives. The stimulation would then start playing a more effective role.

F. Fremund: I believe that the essential contribution of the Set of Measures to export abilities should lie in a striking innovation and expansion of the export goods collection offered us by the suppliers. The incentives for changing production are not effective enough. They should be so strong that they would enforce the full utilization of the working people's minds and initiative.

J. Nykryn: But the Set of Measures provides, in principle, the opportunity for resolving one significant basic conflict by applying further leverage. Whereas with the exception of raw materials, the world today has a buyer's market, the situation inside our economy is the very opposite -- we still have a seller's market. In other words, the issue is to strengthen the consumer's positions, particularly in the sphere of exports.

L. Matejka: Even though we clearly cannot identify all positive or negative phenomena in our economy last year with the operation of the Set of Measures, nevertheless certain conclusions are beginning to be outlined even now; on their basis we are preparing further steps for enhancing the effectiveness of individual management tools.

I believe that the results achieved in exports were positively influenced by the increased pressure of the entire management system on the technical standards and quality of production, and on a reduction of material consumption. Of course, we must see that monetary incentives in increased exports alone cannot resolve the practical problems in the structure of supply and demand of export goods, in the disproportions and inflexibility in supplier-consignee relations, in the lagging technical standards, in the low standards of commercial work and so forth. Briefly, the material advantages promised by the offensive and purposeful export policy of economic production units are obviously still insufficient to fully outweigh the difficulties and risks which production can expect in carrying out this policy.

Either the economic pressure of rules and the existing forms of production's interlinkage with foreign markets are still insufficient -- or the practical conditions and the system under which the economic production units are working are insufficiently favorable for a really active and enterprising approach to creating their export strategy. That is why it will be necessary to search in both these directions -- by engaging in experiments, or by intensifying the existing rules -- for ways to underscore the primary role of exports in our economy, and to forge yet closer links between economic interests and the entire cost-accounting of economic production units on the one hand, and the results achieved on foreign markets on the other. Of course, the material incentives in foreign trade enterprises must function in harmony with this.

J. Pasek: We must make use of all possibilities created by the Set of Measures; we must develop it further by suggesting new and yet more effective measures which would further deepen the economic ties between production and foreign trade.

Who Do You Think Should Be Responsible for Export Results?

M. Mikes: The obviously expected reply would be: one single body in the republic. But this would not be correct. The responsibility must be distributed among the organizations and institutions responsible for this.

J. Nykryn: I would like to add to this, to specify. In speaking generally of the common interests and tasks of our production and foreign trade, we are right. But we must divide the responsibility: the foreign trade organization is responsible for export results, and production for producing export funds. In our vocabulary the word "common" sometimes covers up the symmetry of responsibility, and also of jurisdiction, between the two components. The employees of foreign trade organizations should concentrate far more on the commercial activities proper, where we still have reserves. Actually, they are devoting up to 60 percent of their time to acquiring funds for exports -- although these should be guaranteed by the production. Thus the main issue is specialization, so as to achieve more effective results.

V. Rousal: It seems to us that responsibility for export, especially that of production enterprises, is expressed neither in the extent of motivation, nor in the scope of appraisal of those activities that are closely watched. The enterprise link is particularly underrated.

The export tasks in the planning sphere are resolved by the ministries, by the economic production units, the enterprises get them already broken-down, but in a number of instances they have considerable shortcomings. This should not be. The enterprise sphere bears the main responsibility for failing to fulfill the plan. Not to forget the plants, some of which have an emphatically export character due to their program, but their directors have no say in exports. In other words, the responsibility for exporting must include far more people -- also people holding in their hands the quality and promptness of deliveries and so forth. I think it would be worth while to think of working out monetary incentives down to the level of enterprises and even plants.

J. Hnizdil: I believe that this division as to responsibility already exists. Commercial responsibility lies with foreign trade; the technical and production one with production. And all this is mutually interdependent. But we still have to resolve certain basic questions -- for instance. The plan should be the same, from the State Planning Commission and down to the foreign trade enterprises and production. In practice this is not so.

O. Havlicek: In the production enterprise we are fully responsible for the technical part of the standards and for the quality of products -- for the conditions contained in the contract. This how we understand responsibility.

L. Kubik: A correct stimulation and destimulation should create a favorable atmosphere for innovation and effective exports, that means for a symmetrical system of motivations and sanctions, since we must accept the exacting nature of world markets. Those who win millions for our national economy or, on the other hand, those who squander our resources in the sphere of production factors, must fe ' this in the remunerations fund.

L. Matejka: It is extremely important to define as precisely as possible the responsibility of economic production units and that of foreign trade enterprises, particularly under the conditions of the organizational separation of production and foreign trade. This is a complicated question, and in practice it is frequently a controversial one. I would like to stress two viewpoints. First, the line dividing the responsibility of individual organizations cannot be drawn so as to simply separate production activity from foreign trade activity. Production cannot be responsible merely for producing commodities with high technical and quality standards, but not for making them effectively saleable on the foreign market. On the other hand, the foreign trade enterprises should not be responsible merely for achieving the most advantageous sales, but also for the effective use of our production facilities and for the valorization of our national labor. It is thus a matter of dividing labor, while ensuring the common task -- to achieve the highest possible effectiveness of the reproduction process in the sector in question.

This sharing of responsibility should have a strictly economic nature. The mutual responsibility of the two partners (including who is responsible for the risks connected with foreign trade activities, and how) should be specifically expressed in their mutual contractual relations. Naturally their economic interests should be essentially identical and correspond to the all-social interests. We know that so far it has not been this way in practice.

J. Pasek: The good work of both production and foreign trade in these directions has simultaneously established prerequisites for a good cooperation of two equally valuable, mutually demanding partners of one and the same economy.

Is it Possible to Contribute Toward Stepping up the Turnover of Foreign Trade by International Collaboration, Specialization and Cooperation?

M. Mikes: Our experience with exports of turn-key plants shows that this is possible. Some actions we carried out jointly with the Soviet partners, others in cooperation with Western firms.

But within the CEMA framework, we are encountering one obstacle -- we are all producing the same basic equipment, and none of us the elements for final assembly. There is a lack of production specialization and of division of tasks, at least among the individual foreign trade organizations.

J. Nykryn: It is becoming obvious that it is no longer sufficient to coordinate plans within the CEMA framework; coordination is also necessary in economic policies, particularly in the parts concerning external relations. For instance, it would be desirable to coordinate the price creation and price policy in general, so that the cooperation agreements would be unambiguously advantageous for both partners.

L. Matejka: On the suggestion of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 25th CEMA Session, great attention is being devoted to establishing prerequisites for expanding cooperation among the socialist countries on the basis of direct relations between production organizations, and for building joint enterprises and international organizations. The issue is to create, both organizationally and economically, conditions for establishing highly effective direct cooperation in research, development, production and sales, which would be advantageous for all participants. We see in this a great reserve for expanding our participation in the international division of labor and for making it more effective.

F. Fremund: Prag[illegible]xport is a typical representative of organizations dealing in exports of small consumer goods. It would seem that no cooperation is possible in this field. Despite this, we have a number of cooperation and specialization contracts with partner organizations in the USSR, GDR and nonsocialist states, and we are offering our Soviet and Hungarian partners further cooperation agreements. The purpose is to increasingly satisfy the needs of the domestic market, and to increase exports. But nevertheless I must concede that a greater activity in this direction would be desirable.

V. Rousal: The Kovo has 29 specialization and cooperation contracts, three of which are with Western firms.

J. Pasek: In appraising the current situation in developing specialization and cooperation of production with the socialist countries, we must say that a positive shift has taken place in the number of contracts concluded, as well as from the viewpoint of the contributions of specialized production to the socialist countries' economies. But there is still much important equipment and technologies which the socialist countries are importing from the capitalist states. We cannot be satisfied with the present situation in specialization and cooperation with the nonsocialist states. The cooperational exports amount up to 1 percent of the total exports to nonsocialist countries. Therefore, while weighing all the political aspects, both production and foreign trade must look for ways to make better use of them.

O. Havlicek: I think we are making scant use of cooperation and specialization. We should also reappraise the results achieved in the negotiations of various commissions on cooperation and specialization, because the results so far do not correspond to the efforts exerted.

How To Improve Cooperation Between Economic Production Units and Foreign Trade Organizations

M. Mikes: Our cooperation with production has certain positive features; but it does not correspond to the needs and the situation on the market. We have specific ideas on how to resolve this, and we have submitted certain proposals to our ministry.

How To Further Improve Foreign Trade Activities

L. Matejka: the present experience in implementing the Set of Measures shows that one of the important conditions for effective and correctly oriented cooperation is to consistently harmonize the plan indexes and the structures of monetary incentives in economic production units and foreign trade enterprises.

Shortcomings in this direction sometimes lead to opposite interests, to the detriment of the whole.

J. Nykryn: It is said that foreign trade organizations are commercially strong entities. But their strength cannot always be utilized, because of the rigid legal and other regulations, adherence to which makes it impossible to make use of what is called the strength of monopolies.

L. Kubik: We cannot change the progressive polarity between the technically outstanding and the lagging producers, and the price differentiations on the world markets. But we can change internal production conditions and improve foreign trade activity. Many people believe that, without changing the system of managing the economy, it is impossible to palpably change the functioning of its subsystem, that is of foreign trade. The general thesis on the necessary existence of an export-oriented system of managing the economy does not mean that we must passively put off directing foreign trade until "something happens in the entire national economy." Active impulses from foreign trade as a key field directly connected with the world can speed up the perfection of the management of our entire expanded reproduction process.

O. Havlicek: We have carried out many production analyses to find which of them are advantageous for export. But the supra-ordinated organizations have never told us, yes, you are right. From a long-term viewpoint, it should be the other way round: the ministries should tell us what would be most advantageous to produce. We could then better prepare for this.

J. Pasek: The discussion makes it obvious that the economic ties between production and foreign trade as partners is extremely important for further deepening their cooperation and collaboration in production. The Set of Measures has created a foundation for this, and it must be consistently implemented in practice. It is particularly necessary to make the operational regulations following from the Set of Measures comprehensively affect all national economic connections, and to establish a demanding economic atmosphere for the work of both production and foreign trade. At the same time, it must be seen that the Set of Measures is not a closed document, that its operation is the object of constant analysis and perfection. But we must differentiate between the objective aspects, the shortcomings of the economic machinery, and the people's qualities and their approach to fulfilling duties and tasks. No Set of Measures will be of any use if low management standards prevail in production or foreign trade, or a scarcely exacting and responsible attitude, or else low standards of control.

In order to deepen collaboration and cooperation between production and foreign trade, we must also contribute such measures as the establishment of operational councils in the foreign trade organizations; they should also promote the joint solution of decisive matters in ensuring the export tasks and designing a more long-term production and sales program. We will also have to link the organizational structure in foreign trade enterprises as best as possible with the production technical base; ans we will have to do far more in expediently concentrating the enterprise base of the foreign trade sector.

[Moderators] Everything indicates that the changes which have taken place in the world economy in the past few years are both long-term and lasting. Life is proving to us that the world will not be adjusting to us, but that we will have to speedily and effectively cope with its demands. That is why such high demands are placed on the work of the production sphere and foreign trade. Only the export of superior goods, carried out through superior commercial work, provide the possibility for coping with the consequences which the changes in world economy have on our national economy.

NEPSZABADSAG CONTRASTS U.S., SOVIET ARMS POLICIES

LD170934 Budapest MTI in English 0631 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 17 Mar (MTI) -- "Today, one of the opposing forces of our world pregnant with danger consistently makes efforts to avoid confrontation threatening with nuclear catastrophe, while the others obstinately pile up all those material and political factors which revive the risk of a world-wide catastrophe", writes an editorial entitled "The Goodwill of the Soviet Union", carried in the Wednesday issue of NEPSZABADSAG. "One side makes newer and newer proposals for checking the armament race, for stopping on the road leading to the war precipice, for returning to detente and disarmament, while the other drifts closer and closer to war adventurousness.

"Such is the situation in which on Tuesday Leonid Brezhnev made public the Soviet leadership's decision of great importance: The Soviet side is ready to unilaterally declare a moratorium, that is a postponement for the deployment of medium-range nuclear armaments on its European areas. It will freeze the modernization of its defence force on the given level, in order to make it clear to the United States with its example: the security of the peoples is the most important, thus the American missile deployment programmes should be stopped, and the sides should once again take their seats around the Geneva negotiating table, and an agreement should be reached in the interest of the security of Europe and the world. And if the American side attests good intentions only to a degree that it stops the further straining of the international situation, then the Soviet Union is even ready to reduce by a determined amount the number of its medium-range missiles.

"It would be premature to guess the effect this generous motion will have on the conduct of the Reagan government. We can, nontheless be sure that the Moscow announcement made on Tuesday is one in the line of factors which help the world, primarily Western Europe but also an ever wider circle of Americans to understand the groundlessness of the current Washington military policy and the huge dangers behind, as well as to understand the sincere good intentions of the Soviet Union and its sense of responsibility towards the cause of peace.

The editorial then continues: "In the light of such proposals it is more and more obvious that there is no material basis for the Reagan-Weinberger conception, according to which America can negotiate with the Soviet Union only from the position of strength, namely from the position of greater strength, and it also becomes obvious how unwarrantable is the, by now, notórious sentence of General Rodgers, commander-in-chief of NATO:" We must arm ourselves now so that we can disarm later". This contradicts common sense. And what kind of credit can the resolution brought on the entire West European missile deployment, according to which negotiations concerning European military equilibrium can be held only under the threat of placing these deadly weapons into battle order -- what kind of credit can this have in the light of the present Soviet decision, as well as the previous Soviet proposals?

"Comparing the Soviet proposals and decisions with the stiff accusatory, militant American policy already leads to differences of opinion within the NATO alliance, and this receives even greater emphasis by the appearance in the American legislature of the slowly reviving forces criticising ever more definitely the standpoint of the government. All these together make the practical realization of the Reagan-Weinberger kind of military conceptions more and more difficult", ends the editorial in NEPSZABADSAG.

GASPAR-LED TU DELEGATION ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

LD141152 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 14 Mar 82

[Text] A Hungarian trade union delegation led by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the National Trade Union Council, has arrived in Moscow.

The delegation, which is taking part in the 17th congress of the Soviet trade unions, was received at Sheremetevo airport by Prokhorov, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

MSZMP DELEGATION RETURNS FROM VISIT TO PORTUGAL

LD141908 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 14 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 13 Mar (MTI) -- A delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party headed by Andras Gyenes, Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, visited Portugal from March 9 to 13 at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee.

The visitors conducted talks with a PCP delegation headed by General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal. During its short of the provinces, [as received] the delegation visited Santa Iria de Azoia where it attended a friendship rally.

During the discussions the sides briefed each other about their respective countries' situation and the activities of their parties. They exchanged views over the timely issues of the international communist and workers' movement.

The delegations voiced their parties' mutual solidarity based on proletarian internationalism. They agreed to further strengthen friendly cooperation between the HSWP and the PCP.

Reviewing the international scene, the representatives of the two parties condemned imperialist -- chiefly extremist American -- attempts at upsetting the military balance of forces, escalating the armament race and aggravating international tension. They emphasized that the HSWP and the PCP welcome and support every initiative which genuinely curbs the armament race posing heavy burdens on the peoples of the world and threatening mankind's peace and security. They also welcome and endorse initiatives aimed at strengthening mutual trust and cooperation among countries with divergent social systems.

They pointed out that the suggestions put forward by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries serve well the realization of the above goals.

The two delegations condemned imperialist forces' intervention into Poland's internal affairs and their attempt to exploit the Polish events for escalating international tension gravely endangering thereby the process of detente. The Hungarian and Portuguese communists ensured their solidarity to the Polish United Workers' party and the Polish people in their endeavours for [word indistinct] their country's socialist achievements and for their [word indistinct].

The representatives of the two parties stressed that the achievements, peace policy and international solidarity of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries hold basic significance in furthering the cause of social progress. They underlined that revolutionary transformation brings about ever richer and more multifarious experiences which find expression, among others, in the socialist-oriented national liberation movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

From the point of view of defending peace and advancing revolutionary process, the sides ascribe particular significance to strengthening the unity of the international communist and working class movement, to the cohesion of all the revolutionary forces of our times and to their mutual solidarity. The discussions were held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere and in the spirit of full agreement.

Andras Gyenes held talks with Oliveira Dias, president of the Assembly of the republic, and Melo Antunes, member of the Supreme Council of the Revolution and president of the Constitutional Committee.

The Hungarian delegation returned to Budapest on Saturday evening.

REPORT ON PERFORMANCE OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES

LD161314 Budapest MTI in English 1020 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 16 Mar (MTI) -- In 1981 the Hungarian industrial cooperatives increased their production by 12 percent. Their sales returns were 11 percent up from 1980 -- nearly 78,000 million forints. Their total profit was 10,000 million forints, 33.5 percent more than a year earlier. (Only four of the 900 cooperatives were in the red.)

The better quality of the products and a more thorough and, consequently, more successful marketing work contributed to the remarkable increase in both sales returns and profits. The fact that the cooperatives exported more products also speaks for better quality and successful marketing. They sold goods worth 7,000 million forints in rouble-accounting outlets and augmented their sales to non-rouble zone by 7.5 percent. Their total contribution to improving the country's foreign trade balance was 5,500 million forints.

As for the national economy, the industrial cooperatives constitute an invaluable help to the large state industries: On the strength of accords with the big industries the cooperatives performed jobs worth 14,000 million forints last year, 11 percent more than in 1980. In many cases they manufactured components, elements and tools indispensable to the profitable export deals of the big enterprises.

As evidence of their viability, industrial cooperatives displayed their products at several recent independent exhibitions, in Switzerland, Belgium and the FRG.

MTI CITES INDUSTRY MINISTER ON INDUSTRIALIZATION

LD131140 Budapest MTI in English 1039 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 13 Mar (MTI) -- Saturday's NEPSZABADSAG quotes the speech of Lajos Mehes, member of the MSZMP Political Committee and minister of industry, delivered at the recently held 3rd conference on industrial economics on the situation of the Hungarian industry and the current issues of its development.

Industrialization has played and plays an important role in socialist building in Hungary and the development of the Hungarian national economy.

Hungary's national income has quadrupled in the period between 1950 and 1980. Within this, the industry has octupled its shape in national income. Thus its share in it increased from 30 percent to 50 percent. Industrial products' share in gross exports, disregarding food, increased from 40 percent to 80 percent.

As a result of industrialization, the proportion of townsmen in Hungary of 10.7 million inhabitants grew from 41 percent (1949) to 54 percent (1980). Considerable results have been achieved in the reasonable decentralization of industry, too, while 53 percent of industrial production was concentrated in Budapest in 1938, today the capital of 2.1 million inhabitants shares only 27 percent and the remaining 73 percent is located in the county.

The stock of fixed assets of the Hungarian industry multiplied tenfold between 1950 and 1980. The productivity of industrial activity quadrupled during the same period. As for its technical standard, the Hungarian industry occupies a mediocre place among countries.

The minister of industry pointed out that the process of switching the industry to intensive development started in the end of the 1950s.

Central programmes, for example, those on dieselization and road vehicle development, played in important role in raising the technical standard of the Hungarian industry from the end of the 1950s.

Hungarian precision engineering and computer technology have dynamically developed under CEMA cooperation programmes. The application of the findings of international research works also started.

On this basis, some branches, especially the chemical amd machine [words indistinct] ones from the point of view of technical development, improved by leaps and bounds.

Rapid economic development made it possible in the 1970s to realize investments aimed at promoting the technical level of the industry and other branches of the national economy. Thus the lag in technological level compared to the international standard considerably reduced in the last decade. On the other hand it does not preclude the existence of great differences among some branches and enterprises.

In this respect, the minister mentioned electronic engineering. Though the Hungarian industry is able to produce some up-to-date electronic, precision engineering and vacuum devices,it requires ten years to make its appearance in the level of the international microelectronics and robot technology. That is why the recent approvement of a central development programme on the production of electronic components was of great importance. In conclusion the minister stressed the significance of the selective development of the Hungarian industry.

OVARI MEETS ITALIAN REPUBLICAN PARTY DELEGATION

LD131120 Budapest MTI in English 1013 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 12 Mar (MTI) -- A delegation of the Italian Republican Party, headed by Dr. Adolfo Battaglia, president of the party's parliamentary group, which has paid a visit to Hungary at the invitation of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front (PPF), left Budapest on Friday.

The delegation had talks with the negotiating party of the PPF National Council, led by Bela Kovacs, on issues of bilateral cooperation and international questions.

It exchanged views with Janos Peter, vice-president of the Hungarian National Assembly, Istvan Torok, state secretary for foreign trade, and Ferenc Ratkai, deputy minister of education.

The delegation was received by Miklos Ovari, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Istvan Sarlos, secretary-general of the PPF National Council, both members of the MSZMP Political Committee.

Before his departure, Adolfo Battaglia gave an interview to the MTI. He said, the negotiations with the PPF National Council's delegation and senior officials of Hungary's political life were marked by a frank and open atmosphere. In this context he pointed out the importance of continuous dialogue among the political forces of countries of differing social system. Apart from bilateral relations, they surveyed issues of economics and the international life. The direct relations between the Italian Republican Party and the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front,which have been served by several bilateral talks so far, are to be characterized by continuity, and a PPF delegation is expected to visit Italy.

In view of his party's political line, Adolfo Battaglia said: The basic target of the Italian Republican Party is to contribute to ease tension in Europe and the whole world. "Political activity is required to ease tension between the two military alliances in Europe. This realistic and moderating role is taken by the Italian Republican Party to promote the process of strengthening collective security in our continent," he said.

PRESS WELCOMES USSR PROPOSAL, HITS U.S. RESPONSE

ZYCIE WARSZAWY on Moratorium

LD170940 Warsaw PAP in English 0818 GMT 17 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Mar (PAP) -- "It was with much anxiety that the Soviet leader spoke at the Kremlin about the state of the world," said ZYCIE WARSZAWY commentator reporting on Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the Soviet trade unions congress and added that "numerous examples from the past few weeks prove that the world found itself at the cross-roads. The choice has to be made."

"The Soviet Union wants to give a good example in reducing nuclear arms to make it possible to reach a reasonable agreement with the United States based on the principles of equality and equal security of sides. Thus the Soviet Union is upholding the proposal of cutting nuclear arsenals of both sides already existing in Europe or threatening Europe to one third. However, Leonid Brezhnev supplemented the proposal yesterday with an important new element: The Soviet leadership, said he, was taken a decision on a unilateral announcement of a moratorium on deployment of nuclear medium-range weapons in the European regions of the Soviet Union," the commentary stressed.

"The moratorium will last till the time of reaching an accord with the U.S. on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe or targeted on it on the basis of equality and equal security or till the time practical preparations for deploying Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe start. This is a significant change in the Soviet stand," the commentator observed. "So far the price that the West was to pay for the moratorium was to desist from the fulfilment of the NATO Brussels resolutions on those U.S. missiles."

"The state of tensions is still lasting. The thing is to keep control over the course of events in both political and armaments sphere. Therefore the greater the moderation in the military activity the better," ZYCIE WARSZAWY continued.

"Talks are being suggested persistently, with good will and consistently. Confrontation even if it assumes the form of an intensified arms race cannot be good for anyone. Including the United States which has to understand that it is impossible to unilaterally restore the status quo which prevailed at the best for them days of the cold war. The world has changed and let us hope that the United States will sober down," the commentator concluded.

U.S. Reaction Deplored

LD170922 Warsaw PAP in English 0810 GMT 17 Mar 82

["Proposal That Deserves Serious Response" -- PAP headline; by PAP commentator]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- The 24th successive meeting of the Soviet and American delegations was held in Geneva today. Since last November 30 the delegations have been negotiating there on reducing medium-range nuclear forces in Europe. The negotiators of the two great powers have agreed to adjourn talks for two months thus leaving much time for thinking everything over.

On the same day Leonid Brezhnev delivering a speech at the 17th Soviet Trade Unions Congress in Moscow put forward proposals which might be of great significance for further course of the Geneva negotiations.

The Soviet Union has expanded its earlier proposals of a bilateral agreement on a moratorium for deployment of medium-range nuclear forces in Europe, halting the deployment of such forces unilaterally at home. The Soviet Union also intends to go still farther and will reduce them considerably also unilaterally.

With those announcements the Soviet Union came out to meet the mood prevailing in the European opinion. The European public opinion has been anxiously watching the course of the Geneva negotiations which does not augur (?prompt) agreement while the time is elapsing and the moment of deploying 572 new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe in 1983 is inevitably approaching.

Almost immediately after the content of new Soviet proposals had been disclosed by world news agencies, Washington reacted to them negatively. White House Adviser Edwin Meese hastily dismissed the announcement of unilateral freeze of the Soviet medium-range nuclear forces potential in Europe, admitting however that this and other proposals put forward by Leonid Brezhnev might earn the Soviet Union points in the struggle for support from the public opinion in Western Europe where a broad anti-nuclear movement is developing.

It would be bad if Edwin Meese's statements were to be Washington's final decisions. One should hope that when the USSR-U.S. negotiations in Geneva resume in two months' time, the American approach to the new Soviet offers will prove to be more sober.

JARUZELSKI VISITS GOMULKA IN HOSPITAL 16 MAR

LD161834 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The first secretary of the party Central Committee, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, today visited Wladyslaw Gomulka, who is ill in the hospital. During the visit, Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed the Politburo's cordial greetings to Wladyslaw Gomulka and their wishes that he get well soon.

POLITBURO DEBATES WORKERS' CENTENARY, JUSTICE

LD161944 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] A party Central Committee Politburo session was held in Warsaw today and adopted political-organizational plans for celebrations of the centenary of the Polish workers' movement, which falls in September this year. The PZPR attaches great importance to this anniversary because it is the heir to the past and the legacy of the Polish workers' movement and its experiences.

It was stated that the resolution of the ninth party congress on the centenary of the Polish workers' movement and the Central Committee theses which are being prepared place on the party the need to develop active propaganda actions by party cadres and organizations, and by the whole ideological front. Also pointed out was the need to extract the class, Marxist-Leninist values inherent in the traditions and achievements of the Polish workers' movement in the current work of rebuilding the strength, cohesion and social confidence of the party.

The Politburo stressed that the celebrations should be marked by earnest, in-depth forms of acquaintance with the history of the Polish workers' movement rather than by an occasional and ceremonial organization of the anniversary.

In the second point of the agenda, the Politburo acquainted itself with an appraisal of the sociopolitical situation with regards to the Administration of Justice. It was stressed that fundamental importance is attached to the ninth party congress resolution which urges the strengthening of the constitutional principle of independence of the courts as the basic guarantee of law and order. It was determined that the martial law period imposes especially important tasks on the Ministry of Justice with regard to strengthening law and order and social discipline.

The Politburo decided that work on draft acts on countermeasures against alcoholism, on eradicating and preventing juvenile crime, and on eradicating social parasitism is to be reported. It also instructed that work on updating the law on the structure of general courts [sady powszechne] as well as on preparations for elections of people's jurors in the current year should be accelerated.

The Politburo also issued instructions on improving information and publications on court jurisdiction and its preventive aspects. It pointed out the need for work on deepening the citizens' socio-legal education to be developed.

JOURNALISTS SEEK NEW PROFESSIONAL UNION

LD162150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The Council of State decree issued last 13 December suspended the activity of the creative unions, including the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]. The issue of the professional and creative movement of journalists, and the shape of their organization, has recently become the theme of discussion in journalist circles. A group of Poznan journalists, among others, have sent a letter of appeal to the premier, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, in which we read in part:

We feel that the suspension of the SDP's activity, a suspension which has lasted for some time now, was justified in martial law condition. However, the suspension impedes and complicates the fulfillment of our professional obligations. At the same time, we realize that the existence of the association in its previous structure and with its previous personnel composition -- particularly at the central level -- would not only be undesirable but would even be impossible, as it would be incapable of implementing the political tasks which we have to fulfill.

We thus appeal for consideration to be given to the dissolution of the SDP in its previous form and for permission to create a new association, a professional, creative and self-managing organization, which fully observes all points of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and recognizes the leading role of the PZPR.

We are convinced, write the Poznan journalists, that our motion will find understanding with the comrade general and will be sympathetically considered.

Olszowski Approached

LD162146 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Stefan Olszowski, politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, has been approached by a journalist from Chlopska Droga to tidy up the problem of the legal status of the Polish Journalists Association. The establishment of a new association is being urged which, after making a critical analysis, will continue the best traditions of Polish journalism.

SZTANDAR MLODYCH on New TU

LD162310 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- Since 13 December, in accordance with a decree of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, the activity of creative organizations, including the Association of Polish journalists, has been halted. The problem of the rebirth of the professional-creative movement of journalists is the topic of a discussion article by Andzrej Ziemski, chief editor of the youth paper SZTANDAR MLODYCH, published in the 16 March issue. Approximately 10,000 journalists in Poland have been deprived of someone to represent their interests, writes the author. A number of important problems remain unsolved. They should be the concern of the professional-creative movement of Polish journalists, basing their work on realistic evaluations of the sociopolitical situation in the country and in the milieu of the journalists themselves.

The author goes on to recall the course of events in the Association of Polish Journalists since August 1980. In Autumn 1980, an extraordiary congress of the association was convened. It elected a new leadership for the organization and adopted a new style of work under new conditions.

From activity of a professional-creative nature in previous years, the Association of Polish Journalists moved to political questions. Profound differences and polarization among the journalists was caused by the so-called "Letter of the Five," signed by journalist union leaders, on the maintenance -- in their view -- by the authorities of a mood of confrontation with the aid of influence on the mass media. This letter of 10 August 1981 was published in the Solidarnosc weekly on 14 August. On 17 August a group of 49 journalist union members made a protest against the content of the "Letter of the Five," indicating that there had not been consultation over it with the members, and giving quite a different evaluation of the situation, with a warning of a threat by antisocialist forces.

Thus, as a result of manipulations, including some undertaken from outside, serious political divisions occurred in the journalists' organization. The journalists were twice deceived. The first time they were manipulated was in the seventies, with the aim of successfully conducting propaganda. [sentence as received] They hopefully embarked on a rebirth after August 1980, but for a second time they were subjected to manipulation -- for 16 months. The journalists are still seeking their political face.

The decisions of the party and government leadership concerning journalists have created a qualitatively new situation, the author of the article notes. Changes have taken place in the model of propaganda and the press, which emerge both from martial law and from working out a new style of party work among creative staff, including journalists. What is hoped for is a strengthening party leadership role for the mass media. Changes are taking place in editorial collectives; editorial boards are being reorganized from the point of view of their work efficiency; amalgamations and eliminations of some newspaper and magazine titles are taking place, and new ones being created. A certain, small number of journalists (?are being moved) from their work to other editorial boards, following an evaluation of their political attitudes and professional qualifications.

Discussions are being held on forming a journalists' organization. There is a proposal to create a new organization as a result of initiatives on the basis of experience. Such an organization should answer a number of requirements emerging from the experience of the journalistic medium and the role of service in relation to the people and a socialist state. It should struggle for journalistic authenticity, interacting in this field with the PZPR and other political parties. The journalists' movement should be based on principles of independence, self-management and democratic norms. It should link its activity with the party line.

GORNICKI GIVES STOCKHOLM NEWS CONFERENCE

PM161449 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 Mar 82 p 13

[Mats Lundegaard report: "Polish Military Regime Spokesman: Union Must Not Oppose Party"]

[Text] "There is only one condition for the future of a trade union in Poland. Under no circumstances must it be allowed to degenerate into an anticommunist party. Also remember that Solidarity has not been disbanded. It is only temporarily suspended," the Polish military regime's spokesman, Maj Wieslaw Gornicki, said of the possibilities for the independent trade union movement in Poland.

Certainly Solidarity will rise again, he assured his audience. However, it will probably be organized differently, in order to be better able to serve the cause of the working class.

However, he did admit that in Poland too it is a little unclear who finally best determines what is in the best interests of the working class.

Major Gornicki was appearing at a press conference at the Polish Embassy in Stockholm. He is an old party man. He has been head of the Polish News Bureau for many years and is a respected political commentator.

He is really a journalist, but when martial law was introduced in December he was automatically promoted from lieutenant in the reserves to captain. Since then he has become a major since he has to deal with so many secrets.

He is General Jaruzelski's "senior advisor" [words in quotes in English] and the regime's spokesman.

He spoke of the trade union movement's future, the reawakening communist party, the continued existence of the Gdansk Agreement and the importance of understanding Poland's position on the world map and in history before sitting down to assess its problems and the solutions to them it has chosen.

"It is not a question of getting rid of Solidarity," he said. "It is a question of how a future Polish trade union movement -- or several -- should best be organized in order to be able to serve the interests of the working people."

It is his view that discussions are going on in Poland about whether Solidarity should rise again alone, or whether there should be several competing organizations. However, he seemed to lean toward the view that the organization by regions in which Solidarity had been built up will not be resurrected.

"It is an inefficient form," he said. "Tell me the name of any other country where a trade union organizes a plumber and a professor together simply because they live in the same place."

However, he said that the most important inescapable consideration would have to be that a future trade union would not harm the socialist Polish state. In his view this is what Solidarity did, or elements in the free trade union at least.

"We will not allow professional anticommunist politicians to infiltrate the trade union movement," he said. "They were present in Solidarity. There were even those who had open support from outside. "

He did not mention Walesa. When asked about the interned Solidarity leader's future role or his chances of traveling home to Gdansk to be present at his newly born daughter's christening Major Gornicki referred to PLAYBOY -- "yes, that's right" -- the U.S. monthly magazine. It had carried an interview with Walesa.

"You can find out something about his dreams and plans there," Gornicki said.

Gornicki began his appearance by making assurances that the situation in Poland today gives cause for optimism. The country's economy is still ailing, he admitted, but the collapse has been halted and the first modest steps forward have been taken. Two-thirds of the limitations on individuals' freedom of movement under martial law have been lifted already, he said. The rest will be scrapped within days or weeks.

Someone asked the major about the so-called Gdansk Agreement, the agreement signed by the newly formed Solidarity and the Polish Government after the wave of strikes in the summer of 1980.

It was his view that the majority of what was agreed then is still being respected.

"We have a new censorship law. There will be a new press law. It is now possible to broadcast a Catholic mass on the radio." But he pointed out that there are what he called "nonsense demands" (one calling for 3 years for maternity leave, for example and others which technically or economically are difficult to meet (such as the abolition of the queue for flats and houses).

"But they were allowed to form an independent trade union," he said.

And then he gave assurances that it is still alive. Although temporarily suspended.

"But you have to look at Polish problems with a certain sense of what is possible," he said. "You have to understand the historical background. Poland twice collapsed as a state because of an excess of democracy."

This is a risk the Poles cannot take a third time, he indicated. Free elections in the West European sense are not for Poland, nor a controlled multiparty system.

CIOSEK SAYS UNIONS TO BE SETTLED BY WORKERS

AU161103 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 82 p 5

[PAP reports: "A Trade Union Model Will Be Evolved by the Working People" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] ON 10 MARCH STANISLAW CIOSEK, MINISTER FOR TRADE UNION AFFAIRS, MET PARTY AKTIVS FROM WARSAW ENTERPRISES AND A GROUP OF WARSAW PZPR LECTURERS. HE TACKLED THE CURRENT TRADE UNION PROBLEMS IN POLAND, AS WELL AS LISTENED TO THE OPINIONS AND REMARKS PRESENTED BY WARSAW WORKERS COLLECTIVES AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

The latter in particular involved the participation of party members in the discussion on the model of future trade unions, the activity of social commissions under the PZPR Central Committee, the preservation in the future of obligations and responsibility shared by enterprise administration and trade unions, as well as the need to report public remarks on this subject.

While dealing with trade union problems, Minister Ciosek stated there was a need for discussion on this subject. A READY FORMULA FOR TRADE UNIONS DOES NOT AND CANNOT EXIST. THE GOVERNMENT IS RESOLUTELY FOR A DIALOGUE IN THE SPIRIT OF ACCORD AND COOPERATION, BUT THAT ISSUE ALSO DEPENDS ON DEVELOPMENTS BOTH IN THE COUNTRY AND IN THE WORLD. Notwithstanding some allegations, trade unions cannot be apolitical, but they also cannot be a political opposition or a destructive force directed against the socialist state. They must participate in building and consolidating socialism. Poland's future cannot be built without an accord with the people, and particularly with the workers class. That is why the government seeks a national accord. Before 13 December, the authorities did their utmost to reach an understanding. Very many Poles saw that. The government also confirms the substance of the agreements signed, provided that those agreements are observed by both sides sharing not only the administration, but also responsibility for the country's destinies. As far as strikes are concerned, Minister Ciosek said, the government regards them as admissible, although in essence this goes against society.

THE QUESTION OF A TRADE UNION MODEL WILL EVENTUALLY BE SETTLED BY THE WORKERS CLASS ITSELF IN A WIDE DISCUSSION. However, our foremost obligation is to conceive the functions and role of trade unions in such a way as not to repeat the most recent history. That model must be sensible, it must harmoniously combine public expectations in the interests of the state, the workers class and the working people. It is difficult to say when such a model will emerge, the minister said. Thus far there have been many errors, and they must not be repeated.

REPORTAGE ON PZPR LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES

Olszowski at Wroclaw Plenum

AU161401 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the 12 March party voivodship committee plenary meeting in Wroclaw]

[Text] During the talks [at the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Plenum], Stefan Olszowski made a speech.

He stressed that martial law has put an end to the open propaganda which was waged by political opponents of the party and the socialist system. Martial law has also made it possible for the party to adopt initiatives and enrich its forms of action. But at the same time, anticommunist radio stations and newspapers in the West have stepped up their activity. These support socialism's internal enemies.

Martial law has created the necessity of making decisions more central, concerning the formulation of propaganda work. This includes the propaganda work being developed by means of the mass media. However, this must not hinder organizations and cells in undertaking their own initiatives in this sphere, which are aimed at making the struggle for a socialist type of renewal, which is still going on, more effective.

S. Olszowski stressed that in intensifying propaganda activity, it is necessary to concentrate on the most important aims. This is particularly a question of convincing the community of the necessity and legality of introducing martial law, and of building up people's faith in the actions of the Military Council of National Salvation. It is also necessary to show that the line of social agreement is continuing. Martial law has created the conditions essential for consistently implementing the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress.

It is sometimes said that we have not done much to popularize the congress resolutions among the community, S. Olszowski said. We must remember that just after the congress ended, the party got itself involved in a political battle against opponents of socialism. The famous hunger marches, days without newspapers and other actions were organized aimed at discrediting the resolutions of the congress. This does not mean we do not have to continue popularizing the achievements of the congress. On the contrary, we need greater activity by party members on this.

Discussing the next, further directions of propaganda activity, S. Olszowski laid particular emphasis on the necessity of strengthening the ideological and political unity of the party, and publicizing the initiatives taken by the aktivs in party organizations and cells in this sphere. Creating the conditions for a successful implementation of economic reform should be a very important part of ideological and political work. This should be brought to people's minds and should be achieved by means of concrete solutions. Combatting negative phenomena such as idleness, corrupt practices, speculation and so on is also essential.

A particularly important task facing the workers on the ideological front, including those in the mass media, is shaping and strengthening the belief in the state by our community. This belief was weakened as a result of the activities by Solidarity extremists and other opponents of socialism in Poland.

S. Olszowski devoted much attention to the question of ideological and economic ties with our allies. He stressed that giving the new stage of cooperation with the Soviet Union its appropriate status is of particular importance. It has vital influence on the way the Polish economy is supplied with the right conditions for systematic functioning.

Also an important task is unmasking, with the help of documents, the counterrevolutionary forces and people under the banners of the "Workers Defence Committee," the "Confederation for an Independent Poland" and the Solidarity extremist leadership.

A subject of wide-reaching social discussion in the next few weeks should be the ideological and political draft declaration on the shape of the trade union movement in Poland which was adopted at the seventh Central Committee plenum.

Discussing the situation in journalism, S. Olszowski stressed that in the past few months many editorial offices have become political battlefields. Today, it is essential to intensify ideological and political work in journalism. It is also a question of improving the system of managing the press and of perfecting cadre policy. He said in particular that important work connected with the shaping of a socialist organization of Polish journalists awaits us.

Siwak at Czestochowa Meeting

AU161333 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Albin Siwak, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, at the 12 March voivodship conference in Czestochowa]

[Text] Albin Siwak replied to numerous questions. He said in particular that in putting itself in order, using its own strength, Poland has ensured peace in this part of the world. Even some of our most bitter opponents in the West admit this. However, let us not delude ourselves that we have already achieved victory, he pointed out. The battle is going on and will continue for quite some time.

During recent months, many people could not stand the psychological pressure, gave into the enemy and surrendered their party membership cards. We had to and still have to get rid of many others from the party ranks. However, in the process of cleaning up the party of people alien to it, we must closely examine every case. For example, membership in Solidarity before martial law cannot be the only yardstick. Many people belonged to this union in the best of faith. We are not opposing Solidarity as a trade union, A. Siwak said, but we are opposing this small group of people who pushed our country toward the abyss. The party has a great chance of leading the country onto the road to socialist development and progress. Its strength lies with the workers class, which is now strongly represented in party authorities, the Central Committee and the Politburo, and whose representatives speak about all issues in an open manner. Referring to the problems facing the young generation, A. Siwak turned to the young leaders present at the conference, who should express their own impatience and that of young people in general at everything which is evil in our lives and which demands being put right, and at wastefulness and mismanagement. They should be impatient in looking for ways and means to support the weight of our country.

Milewski at Sieradz Plenum

AU161110 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 82 p 2

[Report on speech by Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, at the PZPR voivodship committee meeting in Sieradz on 10 March]

[Text] Miroslaw Milewski said in particular that we avoided civil war thanks to the introduction of martial law. History will surely appraise 13 December 1981 as a momentously important date for our country and also for the whole of Europe and the world. Martial law was introduced in the name of the supreme interests of the state and people, in the name of order. Thanks to this decision, we have already become the country with the greatest decline in its crime rate out of all European countries. We are introducing economic reform which is immeasurably important for the country.

Referring to the recent visit by the Polish party-state delegation to Moscow, M. Milewski stressed that this visit proved that our country can always count on its friends in the family of socialist countries, and this matter should be given historical importance.

M. Milewski further said that the stabilization which is occurring in Poland does not appeal to our opponents, of course, and they will surely continue to stir up attitudes of passiveness and dissatisfaction among the community. In this situation, our important task is particularly to protect young people against being drawn into political contests which are doomed to be a fiasco.

Talking about problems concerning party work, M. Milewski pointed out in particular the necessity of listening to what young people have to say. This is indispensable for party aktivists. There is also a need to examine party members more closely, especially those who say one thing and do something different. Just appraisals of the attitudes and activities of party members should be carried out.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

LD161410 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The SD Central Committee is holding its sixth plenary session in Warsaw today. The plenum is devoted to a discussion of the SD's role in the current political, social and economic circumstance in which the country finds itself. Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of the SD Central Committee, stated in the presidium's report that the SD, along with the PZPR and ZSL, is a significant element in the exercise of power and in the defense of the national interest.

Kowalczyk's Remarks

LD162108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The SD Central Committee is holding its sixth plenum in Warsaw today. The SD's role in Poland's current social, political and economic situation is being discussed.

The Presidium's report was delivered by Prof Edward Kowalczyk chairman of the SD Central Committee. He stated among other things that the development of the situation in and around Poland requires the SD to calculate its own strength and then to urgently begin intensive political activity with the allied parties and other patriotic forces. He also expressed the view that the plenum should constitute a breakthrough in the SD's internal activities following its 12th congress and should end the stormy period of internal ideological-organizational confusion. Edward Kowalczyk stressed that a continuation of any sort of division or factional activity would contradict not only with the traditions and ideals of the democratic movement but also with the supreme interest of the nation and state at the present time.

Speaking about the SD's activities since last 13 December, he stressed the attitude -- which is worthy of respect -- of broad circles of SD members. Professor Edward Kowalczyk said, however, that the new political conditions force the SD to take a fresh look at the implementation of the SD's tasks and program. Edward Kowalczyk stressed that one thing is sure in all of this -- namely, that the great cause of the democratization of life and of reforms, a cause which was born out of the public's justified protests, ought to be continued.

On the basis of its declaration and program, the SD will strive to ensure that Poland extricates itself from the crisis, returns to the road of development and becomes a country with a high standard of living, a developed culture and a strong, modern economy.

Then discussion got underway. Those participating in the discussion are also stressing that the tradition and history of the Polish democratic movement make it imperative for SD members to participate in the creation of national accord and in leading the country out of the crisis. Also being discussed are matters pertaining to the small-scale manufacturing industry and services.

The plenum deliberations are continuing.

Resolution; New Secretary

LD170942 Warsaw PAP in English 0812 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party held here today voiced support for the activity of the Martial Council of National Redemption designed to surmount the crisis and restore normal life in the country.

A resolution passed by the DP Central Committee states that the Council of State's decision on the declaration of martial law was an objective necessity since it saved the nation and state from a catastrophe of incalculable consequences.

The meeting stated that participation of SD members in creation of civil national rebirth committees is important and relevant for implementation of the idea of national accord.

Recognizing in its entirety the principle that the trade union movement must respect the principles of the socialist system and fundamental interests of the state, the Central Committee comes out in favour of shaping trade unions according to the outcome of the current country-wide discussion on the subject. The Central Committee also favours continuation and acceleration of work towards revival of the Democratic Youth Union. In the resolution, the Central Committee members recognise that consistent implementation of the economic reform is one way of overcoming the present acute economic crisis and promoting economic development. The resolution postulates that the government assign a higher rank to the creation of conditions conducive to the further development of services.

The meeting elected Zdzislaw Lasocki as the new secretary of the Democratic Party's Central Committee.

SD PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION

LD122244 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Mar (PAP) -- At today's meeting the Presidium of the Democratic Party Central Committee discussed socio-political and economic situation of the country and some aspects of international situation.

The Presidium stated that international situation is growing more and more complicated currently. This results from the strivings by forces aiming at disturbing the process of detente. The Presidium came out for a development of such cooperation between states which would mean that states would cooperate in [word indistinct] maintain world peace and security and base relations in the economical, cultural, scientific-technological and commercial fields on the principles of sovereignty, equality, self-determination, non-interference and mutual benefits.

RAKOWSKI MEETS LODZ JOURNALISTS 16 MAR

LD162130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Editors of the press, radio and television met at the Lodz journalists' club today with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. During the meeting he discussed the country's complex sociopolitical situation and gave his opinion on issues connected with the future of the trade union movement. Deputy Premier Rakowski thinks that the revival of the trade unions ought to be preceded by broad discussion and social consultation. Deputy Premier Rakowski then replied to questions from the Lodz journalists.

PLANNING COMMISSION COMPLETING WORK ON DRAFT PLAN

LD162242 Warsaw PAP in English 2013 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- The government Planning Commission is completing its work on a draft operational plan for the second quarter of the present year.

The plan takes into account both the problems posed by the economic crisis and process connected with the introduction of economic reform.

It estimates that industrial production in the next three months will range between 95-96 per cent of the production level of the corresponding period of the preceding year. The estimates are based on the analysis of production effects on the branches of industry using domestic raw materials and those dependent on raw materials imported from capitalist countries.

Thus, the plan envisages, for instance, that production of coal, coking coal, electric energy, cement and copper which increased in the first quarter of 1982 will continue to grow in the second quarter of the year, exceeding (?and) at least attaining last year's level while the imports-based processing industry (in particular the light and chemical industry) production which slumped by about 40 percent in the first quarter of the present year will remain at [words indistinct] level. Some improvement may be expected when purchases of raw materials from capitalist countries are replaced by supplies [words indistinct] as far as the market situation goes the draft plan's estimates (?are) based on the analysis of the effects of the price rises, the most important being the equilibrium attained in the first quarter of the present year. The second quarter of the year should reveal more clearly the general [word indistinct] of prices and their impact on both the attitudes of manufacturers and buyers. [passage indistinct]

AGRICULTURE MINISTER MEETS KAMION FARMERS

LD162336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Current issues pertaining to agriculture and the food economy in Poland, particularly to the situation in Skierniewice Voivodship, were the subject of a meeting held today between farmers in Kamion, near Skierniewice, and Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Jerzy Wojtecki. The farmers expressed concern over the poor supplies and high cost of mineral fertilizers. The inconsistent implementation of the resolution in the matter of so-called "linked sales" was also pointed out. Minister Wojtecki stated that the drawing up and expected passing of new statutes concerning agriculture would soon resolve many of these matters.

SEMINAR HELD FOR GOVERNMENT LEADERS, BUSINESSMEN

AU161552 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Mar 82 p 2

[PAP report: "Seminar for Leadership Echelons in Ministries"]

[Text] At the institute for the organization of management and the further training of cadres, there was a 3-day seminar for the leadership echelons in ministries, central bureaus and banks attended by a group of enterprise directors. The scope, ways and means of cooperation between ministries and enterprises now acting in accordance with the principles of the economic reform which has been introduced were discussed. The extent of preparation by the ministries to fulfill their new functions under the conditions brought on by this reform was also appraised. The following took part in the seminar: Marian Wozniak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary; and Minister Wladyslaw Baka, government plenipotentiary for economic reform matters.

YOUTH UNION POSTPONES CONGRESS OPENING

LD151916 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] The congress commission and the Presidium of the National Committee of the Polish Youth Union at a session in Lodz have determined that the preparations for the union's constitutional congress have ended. The congress was supposed to begin on 17 March; however, due to circumstances beyond its control the commission has decided to postpone the opening of the congress until sometime before 22 May.

The session adopted the resignation of the secretariat of the National Committee. The function of first secretary of the National Committee of the Union has been temporarily entrusted to Zdzislaw (Klempik).

SZSP LEADER ON RESUMPTION OF UNION ACTIVITIES

LD162202 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 16 Mar 82

["Programme Addressed to all Students" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- The Polish prime minister resolved a few days ago to permit the Polish Socialist Students Union, SZSP, to resume its activity. In this connection, SZSP leader Tadreusz Sawic told PAP that "the programme of the union is determined by the resolutions of the SZSP 3rd Congress held in December 1980 as well as by the changed situation in higher schools and in the students community at present."

"We resume our activity after three months of suspension, and under martial law. The situation at higher schools is getting stabilized, but still a variety of processes are taking place, among them such as inspire concern. The academic community is enormously disintegrated. Our programme must account for facts, students' needs, and the necessity to seek new positive solution to establish a community [word indistinct] dialogue, to reflect upon the past and, above all, upon the future and upon [word indistinct] higher school graduates in society and in the socialist state, Sawic said.

"The revival of our activity does neither wind up anything nor does it decide about the future shape of the students movement. The community must have an opportunity to resolve this question by itself administrative decisions [words indistinct] this issue would be a misunderstanding," Sawic declared.

ZSMP LEADER PARTICIPATES IN HUNGARIAN TV FORUM

LD170926 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Budapest, 17 Mar (PAP) -- Chairman of the Main Board of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth (ZSMP) Jerzy Jaskiernia stayed in Budapest on March 15-16 at the invitation of the Budapest television. He participated in the recording of a debate on the role that European youths should play in the present tense situation in our continent. The debate was attended by leaders of Young Conservatists [as received] from Great Britain, Young Social Democrats from West Germany and the Communist Union of Hungarian Youths. The programme will be broadcast by the Budapest television by the end of March.

The PAP correspondent in Budapest was told that at that TV forum representatives of youths organizations from Great Britain and West Germany tried to present Polish developments as a factor hampering the process of detente in Europe, a view which was firmly rejected by the remaining participants of the discussion.

During his stay in Budapest Jerzy Jaskiernia held talks with First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Union of Hungarian Youths (KISZ) Gyorgy Fejti. It was decided that a delegation of the ZSMP Main Board will pay an official visit to Hungary in mid-April.

TRYBUNA LUDU: CHILDREN BEING USED TO SOW UNREST

LD161726 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar -- TRYBUNA LUDU today described as a deplorable "children crusade" the campaign led by the enemies of the socialist state in which they use schoolchildren to sow unrest.

Making a reference to the Solidarnosc union's getting children involved in the game among grown-ups last year, the paper said that unfortunately these matters are not yet a closed chapter: "There are people who do all they can to push some schoolchildren to sow unrest, and are using all means to force them to write anti-state leaflets, signs and make posters. They do not bother exposing teen-agers to a threat of grave consequences."

"This deplorable children crusade primarily incriminates its inspirers. Using young people as a shield has always been contemptible, to put it mildly. Hence contemptible are those who take cover behind the backs of the youth groups yielding to them," TRYBUNA LUDU said.

WARSAW REPORTS PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SPECULATORS

LD150006 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 14 Mar 82

[Text] Speculation and other criminal ways of enrichment are being met with quick and decisive action and severe measures from the investigative and judicial authorities. During February this year, Citizens' Militia units, continuing their intensified activity, commenced preliminary investigations against another 36 people, 23 of whom have been temporarily detained. These persons have been accused of perpetrating various economic crimes, primarily speculation, unlawful hard currency dealings and appropriation of public property.

Cases Increase

LD162248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] For several months now speculation cases have been appearing in the courts' lists more and more frequently. Whereas during last year the courts sentenced 4,665 persons for such offenses, during the first 2 months of the current year over 1,500 sentences of this type have already been pronounced, that is twice as many as in the same period last year.

GOVERNMENT DAILY REPORTS ON DELINQUENCY, VICES

AU121505 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Mar 82 p 5

[Andrzej Litewski report: "The Dimensions of Social Dangers -- Expert Opinion by the Poland-2000 Research and Forecast Committee"]

[Excerpts] The number of expert opinions expressed by the Poland-2000 Research and Forecast Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences with regard to the main issues of the country's development also includes a paper on another kind of problem -- social pathology.

In our interpretation, that term is applicable to various aspects of life. The factor linking all manifestations of pathology is the fact that it goes against the main moral principles of society and thus is harmful to it. It is harmful to society as a whole and also joepardizes each of us. Among the many kinds of behavior qualified by psychologists as pathological in Poland there are, fortunately, only five. The authors of the report list them: delinquency (including economic and teenage), alcoholism, smoking, drug addiction and prostitution.

What are the dimensions of those phenomena? The extent of alcoholism, economic delinquency and tobacco-smoking is undoubtedly the largest.

In 1978, per-capita alcohol consumption in Poland averaged 8 liters (in terms of 100-percent proof), or five times as much as in 1938 and twice as much as 20 years before.

It is worth noting that, according to an expert team of the Council of Ministers' Permanent Commission for the Struggle Against Alcoholism, about 4.5 million persons consume alcohol systematically, of whom 50 percent are in a state of intoxication daily and about 25 percent need treatment. A decade before those numbers were significantly smaller. In the last 20 years, the number of alcoholics that were treated in hospitals for the first time increased almost fourfold. That index has been recognized by scientists as the most objective yardstick of alcoholism in the country.

While the proportions of alcoholism can be determined with sufficient accuracy, the image of delinquency is based on rather fragmentary research date. Thus, on the one hand, we have accurate data concerning convicted culprits and the kinds of offenses committed, but, on the other hand, it is known that not all violations of the law have been revealed. The problem of offenses by organized groups is becoming the most pressing because the number of such groups and their participation in deliquency as a whole are increasing particularly rapidly, and it takes a relatively long time to trace such a group.

In the structure of revealed offenses, the ration of those against property is the largest and amounts to 66.2 percent. If one adds to these offenses classified in criminal code as economic (thus squandering, incurring or concealing deficit, various forms of profiteering), it turns out that they amount to two-thirds of the offenses revealed.

Among the offenses committed by teenagers predominate. They amount to 80 percent of the total. In the light of the data available, according to the experts, the material damage caused by delinquent teenagers is in most cases small, and their social danger has on the whole been insigificant. Thus, from the point of view of the danger to law and order, delinquency by teenagers can be regarded as a third-rate negative phenomenon. But it must be assessed in stricter terms as a symptom of disorder in socialization. The report emphasizes the enormous role of the family in the education of young people. The attitudes, mutual relations and behavior patterns of adults provide the child with the image of a certain system of values.

Tobacco-smoking is next on the list of social pathology phenomena.

Unlike alcoholism and tobacco-smoking, drug addiction does not find favorable conditions in our country. The deviate behavior patterns, brought over from some Western countries, have not been adopted on a larger scale and do not constitute a serious problem. But there is evidence that young people resort to drugs. The number of young people occasionally indulging in drugs is estimated at about 30,000. In the country as a whole, young drug addicts (up to 24 years) in 1977 numbered only 406. However, other data show that the scope of that phenomenon is significantly greater.

The problem of prostitution is much more serious. Although the present dimensions of that phenomenon are though to be much smaller than they were before the war (according to Citizens' Militia statistics, in 1977 there were 12,000 prostitutes), the number of women involved in that activity is growing, and this fact is disturbing, particularly because 30-40 percent of women in that group are under 25 years of age. To restrict prostitution in all its forms in the longer term, it is necessary to raise the ethical, moral and intellectual standards of society. This particularly applies to the younger generation. Efforts in this direction can only produce real effects when the mechanisms of public self-control are significantly strengthened along with the general standards of living and with participation in public life, which implies in particular a feeling of responsibility for the way this life develops.

Conclusions drawn from the report should affect social policy both as a whole and in its individual elements, as well as economic, legislative and cultural policy. At the same time they provide material for further scientific research.

DOROHUSK RAILWAY SHIPMENT STATISTICS REPORTED

LD131502 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] The workforce of the railway station in Dorohusk, near the border in Chelm Voivodship, is working efficiently and without any disturbances. Several thousand tons of goods arriving from the Soviet Union are transloaded there everyday. Every day Polish railwaymen in Dorohusk receive, among other things, over 3,000 tons of potassium salt needed for agriculture purposes, 1,500 tons of propellents, and over 2,000 tons of timber -- part of which is sent to the GDR and to West Berlin. Corn shipments have recently been reaching Dorohusk. These are intended for sowing while shipments of sunflower seeds are earmarked for oil production.

The following Polish products are imported to the Soviet Union through Dorohusk: coal, 'Nysa' and "Zuk" delivery vans and agricultural machinery.

DAILY ON REHABILITATION OF HANDICRAFTS

AU121437 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 Mar 82 p 2

['Pir' report: "Do Not Destroy Things, Leave Them to the Craftsmen!"]

[Text] The new reformed structure of the economy applies particularly to handicrafts. Proof that small-scale production, handicrafts included, is considered valuable is the Council of Ministers resolution of last July. Small-scale production was oriented toward broad self-sufficiency on the basis of that resolution. The deciding factor in this was faith in the functioning of small enterprises, which as a rule learn a lot from the economic giants on how to make people show more initiative and which display a lot more elasticity in adapting themselves to actual market needs. The numerous "faithful" clients of the handicrafts know this best. They often do not even want to hear about comparisons with the products of large, famous firms.

The handicrafts function in the economy only at their own cost and risk. This is not easy. Fortunately, our authorities understood this, and an expression of their understanding is the revised draft of a law on the performance and organization of handicrafts which has recently been approved by the Council of Ministers. This draft offers the handicrafts the stimuli they need so much. Here are some of them:

It will be possible to increase the number of employees to 15 or more if this is clearly justified (it is worth mentioning here that up to now the average number of workers in a handicrafts shop was two); artisans may practice their craft at home; workers in socialized plants may do handicraft work on a part-time basis; members of a craftsman's family or his fellow workers may run his workshop after his retirement or death; concerning raw materials, the handicrafts organizations will be able to make their won local raw-material extracting plants process and refine waste matter and other things; and we may expect that the handicrafts will have a better chance to obtain essential machinery in socialized plants -- contrary to the well-known motto: "it is better to destroy things than leave them to a craftsman."

FILM, PHOTOGRAPHY GROUPS MAY RESUME ACTIVITIES

LD121320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] The mayor of the metropolitan city of Warsaw has lifted the suspension on the activities of the following groups: the Polish Federation of Discussion Film clubs; the Federation of Amateur Film Clubs; the Federation of Amateur Photographic Associations; and the Warsaw Photographic Society.

The first three groups will be allowed to resume their activities throughout Poland.

BIELSKO-BIALA MAYOR, KALISZ VOIVODA PICKED

New Bielsko-Biala Mayor

LD131558 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] The Office of the Voivoda of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship has told our correspondent that the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed engineer Andrzej (Pienkowski), hitherto the voivodship's inspector of power economy, to the post of Mayor of Bielsko-Biala.

Colonel Appointed Voivoda

LD131954 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Col (Kazimierz Bukle) to the post of voivoda for Kalisz, after obtaining the opinion of the Kalisz People's Council.

ARMY TRAINING OFFICER COMMENTS ON COST CUTTING

LD141208 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0805 GMT 14 Mar 82

["Military Magazine" program]

[Text] The ever more up-to-date equipment used by our armed forces compels us to resort in training to untypical and unconventional solutions. Anyway, conditioning factors are very numerous. How are these issues being resolved in the higher officers school of the antiaircraft defense forces? I am talking to Lt Col Jan Borkowski:

[Begin recording] [Borkowski] Indeed, there are several such conditionings factors. The first is the cost of training. This mainly concerns the consumption of fuel for powerplants. In order to reduce costs we adapt these installation to obtain power supplies from the industrial grid. In addition, we are building special training sites which yield the desired training effects without the use of equipment.

[Question] How does this reduce training costs?

[Answer] This depends on the type of equipment, but costs can be reduced from several score to several hundred times. The second conditioning factor, which reflects on training, is equipment which is accessible only with difficulty because only a few cadets can enter the combat cabin at one time. Thus it is necessary to effectively use the time allocated for training by taking the equipment somewhere outside and dismantling it, so as to be able to train more cadets simultaneously. This yields much better results during the same training time.

[Question] The duration of training is bound to be of great importance.

[Answer] This is true. We must teach our cadets to reach high standards within a short period. Taking this into consideration, one could say that the period of training constitutes one of the decisive factors as regards the quality of training. We begun to plan and expand training in a comprehensive way, taking into consideration the cost and the training results. This applies both to the indoor and outdoor training. By introducing broadly conceived integration and comprehensiveness, we avoid unnecessarily move around the training ground and wasting time. Generally speaking, one could say that in all these undertakings we are guided mainly by thriftiness. [end recording]

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI COMMENTS ON PZPR DECLARATION

LD132246 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Mar (PAP) -- Referring to the inauguration of discussion in all the PUWP organizations on the party's draft ideological-programmatic declaration entitled "What We Fight For, Where We Are Headed To" the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes today that the draft's significance consists in the necessity to formulate a programme for today and for tomorrow, the necessity to possess an infallible compass, designed in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and capable of mapping out the direction of the future road.

"Questions raised in the declaration's title by the PUWP Central Committee is most topical at present. They concern not only the party's members and candidates but also the broadest circles of our society." The daily points out and adds that "it also seems that they are also of interest [word indistinct] some degree concern nations inhabiting Europe, as the stability on our continent depends in significantly on the (?forward) position of Poland, on the direction and character of developments in our country.

"It is, therefore, in our deepest interest that the answer to these questions be concordant with the most vital problems related to national agreement, internal order, peace, work and construction of a strong, well governed and just socialist motherland, ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI underlines.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS GOALS OF NATIONAL ACCORD

LD151516 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 15 Mar 82

["Where Are We Heading To" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Mar (PAP) -- "To live up to historic demands of our times, we must ensure the party's unity, gain social confidence, restore the PUWP's credibility, and consolidate its leading role," wrote member of the PUWP CC Zygmunt Galecki in an article headlined as above and carried by today's TRYBUNA LUDU.

"Our party is fighting for the implementation of social, economic and political reforms. It is the creator of stimuli which change the superstructure. The party needs allies in this process.

"Alliance in the struggle for a future shape of the socialist republic gives meaning to the concept of national accord. This accord is political and social at the same time.

"The agreement defined in this way can be reached only by those who aim at a new shape of socialist Poland. The opponents of a socialist state cannot be and will not be the subject of this agreement.

"By its political, social, ideological and historic reasons, the PUWP guarantees the fulfilling of its leading and inspiring role in the national accord. The party does it exactly by the power of argument rather than on paper, by decree or dictate. The consolidation of the party's leading role by the concept of agreement means today as much as recognizing the process of reforms and speeding up the model changes leading to overcoming the crisis.

"We are not alone on this road. The visit of the Polish party-state delegation to the USSR is the best proof of that. Friendship, fraternity, cooperation and alliance with the USSR and the entire socialist community guarantee our security or even our national existence. They also guarantee effective overcoming of the crisis that we are experiencing. Only in this situation, the Polish state, under the PUWP leadership, can guarantee sovereignty and independence for itself," TRYBUNA LUDU said.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS INSTANCES OF 'TERRORISM'

PM121149 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Mar 82 p 3

[Col Leslaw Wojtasik article: "Strategy of Terror"]

[Text] I have already written in the columns of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI (No 297, 1981) about the strategy of terror in which Solidarity's extremist faction engaged. At that time I wrote mostly about a real threat posed by terror. It has now become necessary to go back to this problem in the context of events which have the hallmarks of terror. In Lublin a time bomb was planted at a gas station. In Warsaw a soldier was first terrorized and then had his weapons stolen, and the following day a militiaman was shot and seriously wounded. Mostly tragic in its results, handling of explosives by young people has also been reported.

In addition to physical terrorist acts, there have been many more instances of psychological terror which has been advocated in various illegal publications by underground Solidarity. People committed to the cause of socialism in Poland who have publicly expressed their views on the subject, as well as party and state activists, have been receiving various "death sentences" and warnings in writing. Similar warnings have been received over the telephone. Insulting symbols of all kinds have frequently been daubed on the doors of their apartments. Illegal leaflets have been urging Solidarity activists to draw up "lists of collaborators" -- another form of the well-known proscriptive lists. Some more subtle methods have also been used. The case of the well-known actor, Mr Klosinski, who openly expressed his support for the Military Council of National Salvation, can serve as an example of this. Because of his attitude he was subjected to an organized boycott during a performance by a group of young people. The aim of all this is to create the impression that a certain group of people is seriously threatened. The acts of physical terror are designed to intensify psychological terror, which has always played an important role in Solidarity's social technique.

These developments have placed the problem of terrorism in our country in a new light. I have no intention of exaggerating the importance of this phenomenon or of attaching more importance to it than the situation warrants. However, great danger may ensue from disregarding individual acts of terror and ignoring the possibility that this phenomenon may spread.

It is a matter of extreme importance to explain to the community in detail the specific nature of "Polish terrorism" and make it realize its special danger under the conditions prevailing in our country. Hitherto, as far as ordinary Polish citizens were concerned, terrorism seemed a typical cock-and-bull story. Terrorists were active far away -- first in the FRG and later in Italy. Their activities aroused different feelings which, however, were similar to those aroused by any motion picture watched on the television screen.

In this situation the first real instances of terrorism have met with various public reactions. In many instances they have been viewed with disbelief and dismay. People were unwilling to accept the idea that it is terror of a political nature. Attempts were therefore made to explain it in nonpolitical terms. For instance, a rumor spread in Warsaw that the shooting of the militiaman was some kind of revenge as a result of a family quarrel. This was accompanied by attempts to disregard such instances and by suspicions that the authorities had reacted to them in a hysterical manner.

It seems that it is necessary to warn the public against such an attitude toward the matter. The facts concerning the fatal wounding of the militiaman known so far indicate a deliberate and planned act of a political nature. The fact that there may be a connection between the theft of arms and the above-mentioned terrorist act indicates some degree of planning. And the choice of the victim and the way in which the terrorist act was carried out indicate a political connection.

The so far few instances of terrorism in our country show its specific nature. It is terrorism of an especially dangerous kind because it is global, directed against all and aimed at achieving the most spectacular possible effect irrespective of either the number of victims or the destruction. For this is not a kind of terrorism which is directed against prominent individuals who represent an ideology fought against, as in the case, for instance, of the "Red Brigades." These are attempts to engage in collective terror whose aim is to subdue the entire community.

For the people who planted the bomb at the gas station in Lubin the fact that many innocent people, including some avowed opponents of socialism, might be killed was a matter of no importance. What was important to them was an impressive demonstration whose aim was to subdue the community and lead to a lessening of its support for the authorities. The militiaman in the Warsaw streetcar was not a specifically and individually selected representative of the authorities who was "designated for liquidation" but a man wearing a uniform selected at random as a symbol of authority. It might just as well have been some other militiaman in some completely different place. This criminal act was carried out not in some suburban street but in a crowded streetcar because its aim was to achieve a spectacular effect which would impress the community.

In view of all this, anyone could become a victim of terrorist activities anywhere unless this phenomenon is nipped in the bud with the cooperation of the entire community. Political views have nothing to do with this because it is impossible to take them into account when action is taken at random with a view to carrying out a spectacular demonstration. Terrorism of this kind is especially dangerous because it threatens everybody without exception.

Just as treatment necessitates a diagnosis of an illness, the fight against terrorism calls for an identification of the main causes of that phenomenon. It seems that this problem can be considered at two levels -- the domestic level and the external level.

The fundamental cause of terrorist acts in our country should be seen in the effects of the indoctrinating activities of antisocialist organizations and Solidarity extremists prior to 13 December 1981. Terror was an integral part of the programs of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Independent Association of Students [NSZ]. This has already been repeatedly documented. Young people in general and student circles in particular were influenced in this spirit. It was Kuron who first proclaimed the slogan about hanging communists, which was later taken up on a wider scale and more concretely by extremist Solidarity leaders such as Jurczyk and Gwiazda. On the initiative of such leaders, proscriptive lists were drawn up and strong-arm squads organized. An atmosphere of terror arose which affected the minds of young people especially strongly. Many proofs have already been adduced to the effect that in its final period Solidarity decided on confrontation with the use of force. The introduction of martial law prevented this. Its harsh demands at first paralyzed the activities of the survivors of antisocialist organizations and the Solidarity extremists. But the gradual repeal of restrictions which is essential to ensure normal social activities has been conducive to their reappearance.

The seed of terror sown by antisocialist elements has started to germinate. It is characteristic that leaflets of all kinds calling for terrorist acts are signed by either real or fictitious organizations identifying themselves with Solidarity. Such organizations as the Solidarity resistance movement, the Solidarity underground organization and the national Solidarity resistance committee have appeared. All this shows that they have either been inspired by or are ideologically connected with Solidarity extremists.

The second category of causes ensues from the propaganda aggression waged by Western radio stations broadcasting in Polish, especially RFE. Several avenues of activity can be distinguished in this sphere whose aim, among other things, is to create an atmosphere conducive to terror.

By depicting Poland in dark colors as a country clubbed by members of the Motorized Reserves of Citizens' Militia [ZOMO], imprisoned in concentration camps (on 25 December 1981 the BBC "informed" its listeners that the Stutthof Concentration Camp was being used a place of iternment) and starving. According to Western broadcasts, the Hitlerite occupation was an idyll compared with the present situation in Poland. Obviously, this bears no relation to the facts but there are still many people in our coutnry who want to see such a picture. Western broadcasting stations strengthen their belief and inspire them with a desire for revenge.

By describing Solidarity's clandestine activities. Such descriptions take up a considerable amount of time in the Western broadcasting stations' news bulletins and political programs. In a program broadcast on 2 February the BBC reported on clandestine Solidarity's "organizational network," mentioning the pseudonyms of its leaders and describing the way in which the entire organization operates.

All these broadcasting stations continuously advertize illegal Solidarity publications. So many various titles have already been mentioned that an impression has been created that a mass movement is in existence with which all citizens are in daily contact.

The aim of such activities is to create an occupation atmosphere bordering on psychosis. Nor can it be ruled out that their indirect aim is to stimulate terrorist activities because, as we know, in the eyes of young Polish people who have been brought up on a diet of literature and motion pictures dealing with the subject of occupation, underground activities are mainly associated with armed revenge. With the help of an appropriate propaganda campaign it is easy to develop such stereotypes.

However, activities aimed at making people disregard terrorist acts and spreading the belief that they are acts of provocation on the part of the authorities are the most dangerous and subversive. On 17 February 1982, at 2010 hours, RFE commentator Jozef Ptaczek commented on the Lubin event. The very title of his commentary -- "The Danger of Provoking Terrorist Acts by the Security Apparatus" -- gives much food for thought. But in the text itself it was openly stated that "the incident obviously smacks of provocation" and was aimed at saddling Solidarity with it in order, Ptaczek said, to be able to "take some even more brutal action." The same subject was dealt with by Alina Grabowska in an extensive commentary broadcast by RFE on 19 February. The following statements can be found in it among others: "An explosive charge was allegedly discovered at a gas station in Lubin," "The moment of the charge's discovery was staged on television and "the scenario for the entire operation had been prepared somewhere." To sum up, the operation was a provocation from start to finish. Obviously, not a shadow of proof in support of this theory was produced. It was completely based on slanders and gross lies.

Such behavior is tantamount to obvious provocation. For it removes any responsibility from the shoulders of the actual organizers of terrorist acts while suggesting to the community a version alleging "provocation on the part of the authorities." It constitutes camouflaged incitement to terrorism.

In this way -- by combining internal and external pressures -- the ideological foe has been seeking to create an atmosphere conducive to terrorist acts in order to weaken the links between society and the authorities and delay the stabilization of the situation in the country. This is an extremely dangerous phenomenon which demands determined counteraction on the part of both society and the authorities. A pooling of efforts is essential in this case because only activity within such a framework can lead to the liquidation of a serious threat to the stabilization of the situation in the country.

SOLIDARITY'S 'ANTI-POLISH' FOREIGN POLICY SCORED

LD160922 Warsaw PAP in English 0814 GMT 16 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- New documents coming to light show eloquently that Solidarnosc, dominated by individuals greedy for power was determined to shatter the Polish foreign policy," stated the army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

"During the last few months of the past year, the character of Solidarnosc's foreign contacts was increasingly anti-Polish. The tone to that peculiarly interpreted foreign policy was set by Geremek and Onyszkiewicz. They have also formulated principles to guide Solidarnosc activity in the international arena. The directive was to act behind the back of the Foreign Ministry and state authorities, to win support from various political groups in the West for the union's showdown with the Polish Government and the PUWP, and to create in the West the impression that Solidarnosc was consistently depriving the Polish party and government leadership of initiative in the political, economic and international sphere.

"Solidarnosc foreign contacts had also a definite politico-military context. This resulted from the fact that individual Solidarnosc members became the object of increasing interest on the part of foreign intelligence agencies. Their generally known negative attitude to problems of defence capability and their subversvie attacks aimed at the Polish People's Army encouraged the NATO special services to penetrate Solidarnosc ranks.

"There is proof that certain Solidarnosc representatives had contacts with Western outposts and special service agencies supplying them with definite secret information," stated ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

In conclusion the paper said: "We have to make it crystal clear: In our country there is no room for people and organisations who act against the Polish raison d'etat. There can be no repitition of a situation where under the guise of a worker organisation various counter-revolutionaries would hatch and implement plans to overthrow the people's power and create premises for a change of orientation in the international arena."

PAP VIEWS KPN POLICY, FOREIGN CONTACTS

LD161142 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- The trial in the case of Leszek Moczulski and the other leaders of the "Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], which is being conducted in the Warsaw Military District Court, is today attracting the attention of the Polish, and not only the Polish, public, a PAP observer writes. This interest is very understandable. After all, the trial does involve the leaders of an illegal organization whose activity is essentially directed against the socialist order. This fact cannot be altered by the assertions of the accused themselves to the effect that the KPN was a legally functioning political party striving to attain its aims "through revolution without revolution." It is an irrefutable fact that the KPN was striving to overthrow by force the order of the Polish People's Republic. This is stressed in the bill of indictment. In the opinion of the KPN leadership the Polish state does not exist. On the basis of this thesis was formed the KPN demand for the creation of the "third republic" -- a totally independent state, founded, in particular, on the Constitution of 1935.

It emerges from the available documents that the KPN leadership was conducting essentially antisocialist activity and was inciting other persons to actions endangering the main political interests of the Polish People's Republic. These are not unsubstantiated accusations, for reference may be made to facts concerning the handing over to foreign political subversion centers of various kinds of information and commentaries, which were used by these centers in a propaganda campaign with an unambiguous trend.

The KPN distributed leaflets and printed matter giving a false picture of Poland, in which they opposed the links between the Polish People's Republic and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

How is the assertion of the KPN leaders about the legality of its political activity to be equated with the formulation in its charter to the effect that the confederation, as a political party, is not subject to registration and that its activity is not subject to supervision by any external organs? Claiming that it is a political organization, a party whose main aim is the overthrow of the socialist order in Poland, the KPN has not forgotten its external links. Despite its short period of activity from its transformation into an organized political group the KPN managed to establish these links and also to receive aid and support, in various senses, from groups in the United States, Canada, Sweden, Spain, France, Austria and other countries. There was in this, of course, an identity of interests, whose goal was "the campaign against communism by any means."

The answer to the question of whether these links and the activity of the KPN in general were of service to Poland is not rhetorical. The KPN leaders' hostile assertions, which were never concealed, on the present order in Poland and the wide-ranging campaign against friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states were unambiguous. In this light the attempts to dispute the decisions of the Crimea Conference which created modern Poland and even the accusation against the Western states to the effect that they are not sufficiently resolutely opposing the socialist community, in the opinion of the KPN ideologues, can cause no surprise.

MSZMP EXPERIENCE WITH INTELLIGENTSIA AFTER 1956

LD162116 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 16 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] RZECZPOSPOLITA today carries an interesting article by Jerzy Robert Nowak on the Hungarian experience. The article is called: About the Intelligentsia from a Different Slant. The author states, among other things, that in Hungary, right after 1956, anti-intelligentsia trends occurred in some milieus. The basis for these tendencies arising in the circles of a part of the rank-and-file members of the MSZMP and the party apparatus was the fact that the intelligentsia played a particularly important role in the development of the events which led to the drama of November 1956.

The result of these (?attitudes), which were accompanied by anti-intelligentsia activities, was that political consolidation took the slowest course in intelligentsia milieus.

One of the negative reactions of these milieus was the so-called silent strike. Jerzy Robert Nowak writes in his article about the great effort by the leadership of the MSZMP, and particularly by its leader, Janos Kadar, to win over the Hungarian intelligentsia. The consistent dialogue between the party and the intellectuals led to a gradual rapprochement of standpoints and, as a result, to their being drawn into the current of socialist transformations.

An appreciation of the standing of culture and science, opposition to the view of culture exclusively from the aspect of profitability and tendencies to treat culture as something second-rate have remained to this day one of the lasting elements of MSZMP policy, concludes Jerzy Robert Nowak.

PRESS COMMENTARY ON CSCE POSTPONEMENT REPORTED

ZYCIE WARSAWY Comments

LD150930 Warsaw PAP in English 0803 GMT 15 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Mar (PAP) -- "The process of detente and cooperation in Europe initiated in 1975 by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act passed a serious fire test at the current round of the Madrid talks," wrote Ewa Boniecka in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. "The meeting of the 35 states signatories to the Final Act, resumed last February 9, because of the posture demonstrated by the United States and certain other Western states turned into a succession of confrontations and accusations aimed against Poland and the Soviet Union in connection with the declaration of martial law in Poland.

"This effectively blocked any progress of the CSCE substantive work. But the original American conception to break off the talks misfired because it encountered in Madrid a resolute opposition both from the neutral states and a considerable part of West European allies. The West did not have the nerve to break off the conference and take responsibility for the decision in the eyes of public opinion," said the commentator.

The compromise decision to adjourn the conference was due, above all, to "the posture of the socialist countries. Poland and the Soviet Union, rejecting Western accusations and all attempts to interfere in Poland's internal affairs, laid emphasis on the need to continue the CSCE process."

"Poland's representative expressed the hope that after reopening of the conference in the autumn, a businesslike dialogue will be resumed. The Madrid meeting has shown that in spite of sharp tensions and attempts to use the Polish crisis for the purposes of confrontation, the European nations regard the process of European cooperation to be far too valuable to be broken off," concluded Biniecka.

TRYBUNA LUDU Comments

LD161316 Warsaw PAP in English 1123 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Mar (PAP) -- "In spite of strong pressure of the USA and some of its overeager allies from NATO the interests of continuing the dialogue in Europe have prevailed," TRYBUNA LUDU wrote today in a commentary devoted to the latest round of the CSCE meeting in Madrid.

The daily stressed further, however, that though the all-European achievement of the Madrid meeting was saved owing to the initiative of neutral, non-aligned and socialist states, the destructive tactics of the USA and some NATO countries spoilt the atmosphere of debates and postponed the signing of an agreement concerning the significant issues of European security in the military and confidence-building sphere.

"The chance for concluding such an agreement does exist in accordance with the mandate of the Madrid meeting. It will be real when the meeting resumes its debate on November 9 on condition that the American side and its allies abandon propaganda maneuvers and egoistic approach to the vital questions of European security and return to the continuation of dialogue and cooperation between the East and the West.

"The course of the Madrid meeting has confirmed that the overwhelming majority of the countries of Europe are for such peaceful shaping of relations in our continent," TRYBUNA LUDU said in conclusion.

CAZACU MEETS AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIAL

AU152047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Mar (AGERPRES) -- On Monday, March 15, Virgil Cazacu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP met with Robert Durbridge, member of the Executive Committee, national secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, who is paying a visit to Romania, at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, the two sides informed each other about the current concerns of the RCP and the Communist Party of Australia and expressed their wish to further develop and deepen their good relations, to the benefit of the two parties, countries and peoples, of the cause of peace, national security and independence, of social progress, international cooperation and collaboration. Aspects of the international political life were also approached.

MAURITIUS COMMUNIST PARTY PRESIDENT ARRIVES

AU152040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Mar (AGERPRES) -- On March 15, Leetoraj Chundramun, president of the Communist Party of Mauritius, who is paying a visit to Romania, arrived in Bucharest.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Virgil Cazacu, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

MEMORIAL MEETINGS MARK TITULESCU BIRTHDAY

AU162057 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Bucharest, 16 Mar (AGERPRES) -- A memorial meeting took place in Bucharest on March 16, 1982, devoted to the birth centenary of Nicolae Titulescu, an outstanding personality of the Romanian political life in the interwar period. A diplomatist and lawyer of international repute, who tirelessly campaigned for peace, independence and sovereignty of Romania, for her territorial integrity, for equality of rights among all states.

The memorial meeting was presided over by Petru Enache, vice-president of the State Council, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, Suzana Gadea, chairman of the Council for Socialist Education and Culture, Petre Gigea, minister of finance, heads of cultural and scientific establishments.

Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest and foreign press correspondents were present.

Opening the memorial meeting, Professor Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, conjured up the personality and activity of Nicolae Titulescu in the context of the contemporary political life, stressing Romania's European vocation, her realistic and efficient action directed today towards the unity of the countries on our continent, relying on the observance of social systems, of every nation's independence and sovereignty, on active collaboration and cooperation.

CONTINUED REACTION TO KOSOVO ALBANIAN UNREST

Punishments in Suva Reka

AU162049 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] The Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Suva Reka has analyzed the political-security situation after the recent hostile demonstrations at the Jeta E Re secondary school center and adopted concrete ideopolitical measures on the basis of the action program of the provincial committee and the political platform on Kosovo concerning further activities of the basic organizations of the League of Communists in primary schools, associated labor and local communities, as well as the activities of other sociopolitical organizations and organs of the communal assembly.

Six members of the League of Communists at the Jeta E Re secondary school center received party punishment, and six teachers were suspended from their jobs. The program of further political actions of the communal committee and the measures that have been taken received the full support of all the working people and citizens in this commune.

The Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Vucitrn last night also examined the political-security situation and discussed the further tasks of the League of Communists and other subjective forces in implementing the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the political platform on Kosovo. During the past 2 days, there have been over 100 meetings of the SAWP, the youth and the trade unions in this commune and they have very sharply denounced the hostile demonstrations in Pristina and some other places in the province.

Azem Vlasi Comments

LD171112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 17 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference is meeting in Belgrade today to discuss the tasks of the Socialist Alliance in the implementation of the political platform on Kosovo. In his introductory report, Risto Dzunov [vice president of the SAWPY Federal Conference] stressed that it is particularly important, both for Kosovo and for overall relations in our multinational community, that we ceaselessly fight for the practical implementation of the policy of faster development of under developed republics and of Kosovo. These are exceptionally sensitive matters and not for a moment must we allow our opponents and enemies to take advantage of these problems, said Dzunov.

Taking part in the discussion, Azem Vlasi [president of the Kosovo SAWP] stressed that the implementation of the platform is unfolding in exceptionally difficult conditions. The events of 11 March, said Vlasi, have clearly demonstrated that enemy forces have not yet been defeated. If last year we could say that many young people had been misled and were ignorant, we must now abandon these assessments. Such people were not among the demonstrations this year. It must be admitted that enemy forces had not been deprived of their leaders, because the March demonstrations were well prepared.

RILINDJA Article

AU161516 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 12 Mar 82 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Let the Roots of Hostile Activity Be Cut"]

[Text] Yesterday in Pristina Albanian irredentists and nationalists "raised their voices" with known hostile slogans, detaching some pupils from their school desks and books with very open calls to boycott lessons and to demonstrate against the social system. The purpose of the organizers is obvious: to gather together deceived young people at precisely the time when we are very earnestly wrestling with our class enemy, when our daily struggle to stabilize the political and economic situation is being deepened.

We are engaged on a wide front in more work, more production and more positive marks in the indexes and registers of our pupils, in squeezing out from the pure hearts of the youth the poison poured in by the enemy. All honest citizens can indignantly add "the village that can be seen needs no guide," the enemy needs no tail, but it is he who tries on every occasion to show his face [as published]

Those who demonstrated yesterday, those who "raised their voices" to show that they are still alive, are, truly, numerically, without detailing how many pupils and students, only a stream in the river of 70,000 students and pupils, the army of our future, the genuine generation of Tito, affirmed in Tito's time and in step on Tito's road.

He [presumably the enemy] knows that he has been defeated by the working class and the intelligentsia. Therefore, with the last breath remaining to him, he has tried impudently to draw the honest youth behind him.

The working class, and primarily the Albanians from production, not only now, but from the very first day that we aligned ourselves under Tito's flag, answers all enemies with new victories at work. In recent weeks the miners of Trepca and Oblic, giving thousands of tons more lead, zinc and coal, answered the remnants of the enemy, the Albanian irredentists and nationalists, chauvinists and unitarianists: "Here we are, with deeds, on Tito's road, on the road of equality, unity and brotherhood."

Coexisting, no enemy can halt our triumphant stride, nor can any perficious plan, such as yesterday's disruption of order and calm in a street of Pristina, or the attempt of the group of 10 in Podujevo, who were smashed by the youth of that city. The boycott of lessons by some pupils in Suva Reka, too, was an attempt by the enemy, by the nationalists and irredentists. The youth and their parents and teachers also settled accounts with them. All honest citizens are aware of the burden of any disturbance. The saying that the destiny of Kosovo must be borne primarily in the hands of the Kosovars themselves, by the members of all nationalities and peoples themselves, has never been clearer.

To all progressive forces in Kosovo, therefore, to all communists, parents, teachers, working people and members of the young generation, and primarily to all pupils and students, it is of particular importance to be in the front ranks of the struggle against all attempts at hostile activity. As is stated also in the LCY Central Committee platform, who, if not the young people, loves freedom and is ready to struggle for a better future for their own people. Who, if not the young people, has a greater desire for self-managing social relations, human relations between people? These human relations cannot be built on hostile nationalist manifestations, as were today's demonstrations, from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. This causes greater damage to the Albanian nationality itself, as well as all other nationalities and peoples in the province, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and throughout the country.

POLITIKA Commentary

AU161836 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 82 p 5

[Tihomir Nesic and Zejnel Zejneli commentary: "Yet Another Difficult Day: After the Latest Provocations by Irredentists in Kosovo"]

[Text] Now it is no longer possible to speak about any surprises. The irredentist forces in Kosovo were so impudent as to have virtually announced their action and so well organized as to have even carried out that action despite vigilance and the increased security measures. The conflict which the irredentists and nationalists obviously wanted to provoke was only avoided thanks to the energetic and dignified action of the security organs.

Yesterday's events refuted the appraisals -- increasingly frequent also quite recently -- that the enemy forces in Kosovo have been suppressed and broken up. They have also proved incorrect the claims that these forces have been deprived of their leadership, although the latest events do show that the scope of the irredentist and nationalist activities really has been narrowed to some extent.

This time the irredentists and nationalists did not succeed -- as they did last year -- in attracting many followers. In the preceding days, there were many indications that the situation is not satisfactory and that irredentists in the province continue to have leaders who pull the strings and plan the moves. If the disorders provoked by students and secondary schoolchildren at the university departments and schools could be considered "echoes" of last year's April events, it is difficult to think -- if we mention only this -- that a leaderless organization could have printed and distributed leaflets, pamphlets and even plastic stickers with slogans, now changed from only "Kosovo-Republic" to "Kosovo Is Republic."

The demonstrations have only confirmed that the "organization's" center is functioning, that it is changing its tactics but that, at the same time, it is retaining some of its past tactics: the tactics of pushing young people and children to the front, repeating the same demands in the same manner, striking at several places, trying to involve workers and so forth. The fact that the demonstrations in Suva Reka, Obilic, Pristina and Podujevo started virtually at the same time, that the assembly places and group meetings which moved from the same directions on Pristina streets were once again well determined... also shows that everything was organized from a center.

The province's non-Albanian population and all Albanians who are loyal to the socialist self-managing Yugoslavia have lived through yet another difficult day. They have been deprived of yet another part of their faith in an early restoration of mutual trust, security and safety. Because of all this, it seems true that, in its own way, yesterday's hostile blow was by its impudence a more violent counterrevolutionary attack than the one that took place on the same day last year. Everything becomes more significant and turns into a stronger warning if we add the question: Was this 11 March a test and a trial, like it was last year, for a further escalation?

It would be nice to believe that this is not so but, as has already been said, now the League of Communists, the self-managing forces and the organs of authority in Kosovo obviously must move to a far more resolute offensive and, with the help of the wider Yugoslav community, always be one step ahead of the enemy. As clear as it may be after yesterday's events that during the past year not enough has been done to settle the situation, it is even clearer that it is necessary to put an end to all hasty optimism in the appraisals of the political and security situation.

It is a conspicuous fact that this time again the students were the main actors and that great efforts have been made at the Pristina University to present the situation there as better than in fact it is and that fewer efforts have been made to discover the roots and the promoters of hostile actions. Is there something wrong with the authority enjoyed by the professors among the students or with the professors' activity among the students? What is the meaning of the fact that everything started at the student center and that several hundred students went to the streets when, only a few days prior to that, it was stated that maximum efforts had been made to overcome the situation in the student center? Have really great efforts been made -- as is often emphasized -- to settle the situation in the elementary and secondary schools and especially among the educational workers when, again, yesterday, the schoolchildren were the most numerous among the demonstrators? A great deal really has been done to prevent hostile activities. It is necessary to consider what and how much could be done in 1 year to eliminate what has accumulated over many years. It will be all the more necessary now, in light of the latest events, to adopt a very critical approach in appraising what really has been done in every community to implement the action program of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo and to fulfill the obligations stemming from the platform of the LCY Central Committee. These documents state absolutely clearly what is what and there is no longer any scope for any repetitions in this connection (but repetitions are being made).

BORBA Article

AU160948 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 82 p 1

[Slobodan Vujica commentary: "Directly: Changes and Warnings"]

[Text] The irredentist and nationalist forces in Kosovo have once again demonstrated their aggressiveness. With their synchronized and even precisely timed (and this means, organized) demonstrations in the streets and schools of Pristina, Suva Reka, Podujevo and Obilic on the anniversary of the counterrevolutionary irredentist assault, these forces tried to demonstrate their presence, cause disturbances and introduce insecurity, and thereby hamper and slow down an already difficult process of recovery of the political and security situation in Kosovo.

This new hostile attack under the old and known slogans has come at a time when the organized socialist forces in Kosovo, headed by the League of Communists and assisted by the entire community, are sparing no efforts to further stabilize the situation which was deeply shaken by last year's counterrevolutionary attack and by many years of the leadership's mistaken policy, which left a difficult inheritance.

The goals of the counterrevolutionary forces and their attack on the integrity of our socialist community and the vital interests of the Albanian people living in this community are being increasingly successfully unmasked through the implementation of the action program of the League of Communists of Kosovo and the LCY political platform on Kosovo. The essence and roots of the earlier mistaken policy which provided an opening for hostile forces are also being recognized. The work to elaborate and concretely determine the program for a new strategy of comprehensive development of this province, with the help of the widest community, is in full swing. The pernicious and reactionary character of the slogan of "pure ethnos" [Greek word "Ethnos" as published], which has deeply implanted the seeds of mistrust and even hatred, is becoming increasingly obvious from day to day. The front of devoted and engaged fighters is broadening more and more, and there are fewer and fewer passive observers.

The awareness is becoming increasingly predominant that the prosperity of this province, of all working people, of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks and Romanies, is the development of socialist self-management and democracy in a community of equals. This development also opens a reliable road to economic progress and the flourishing of human freedoms and national values. The unavoidable process of differentiations also has begun, even though it is not being carried out without some opportunism and inconsistency.

Everything that has been achieved thus far during the past year must not be overrated, but also must not be underrated. Any false optimism as well as mistrust or sowing of doubts are dangerous.

Even despite the latest demonstrations and the constant actions by the opponents, the situation in Kosovo today is more favorable than a year ago; but it has still not been stabilized. A powerful blow has been dealt to the enemy, but he has not been defeated. The scope for his activity has been narrowed (this was demonstrated among other things also by the smaller participation in the latest demonstrations), but he has obviously not been finally and definitely decapitated and will try to manifest his presence in the future also.

The enemy is becoming increasingly aware from day to day that he is losing the ground from under his feet because of the process of normalization. For this reason he tries to reorganize his forces and, under the new conditions that are now certainly more unfavorable to him, demonstrate his presence and, with various actions, cause unrest, slow down the process of stabilization and draw the attention of organized socialist forces away from solving the main tasks.

Nowhere, and especially not here where the situation is more complex, will more self-management and democracy, which alone can provide lasting solutions, come about by themselves and without the constant organized efforts and struggle of the subjective socialist forces and primarily the communists. And herein lies the significance of the warning issued in recent days that the organized socialist forces in Kosovo must move more boldly to a total offensive against all bureaucratic and statist elements whose existence and power create the basis for hostile activities.

The struggle for socialist self-management is unimaginable without the broadest political and ideological work which spreads awareness and knowledge. This makes it possible to better recognize the roads of deviations and perceive the reactionary purpose of hostile slogans, and thereby narrows the scope for manipulation. And this is especially important for those communities where the irredentist and nationalist indoctrination was the most extensive and deep, among the youth and especially among the students and secondary school youth and intelligentsia, and where the enemy obviously seeks its bases of support today also.

No matter how much has been achieved, still only a beginning has been made in this connection. But sluggishness, an inclination to compromise and a lack of readiness to carry the differentiation with the enemy and those who support him to the end are obvious in this connection.

Today, there is also no doubt for anyone that no real normalization in Kosovo is possible if the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from their native homes continues, and continues under pressures and threats. This emigration has already left the deepest and most pernicious consequences. But this great and sensitive problem also cannot be solved in isolation from other problems. It can be solved only within the context of all efforts for stabilization and by an even more resolute struggle against nationalists and against those who preach an "ethnically pure Kosovo," as well as by intensifying responsibility against all bullies and those who tolerate them.

Thus, during the past year in Kosovo, many changes for the better have taken place. But in recent days the warnings have also been issued, warnings that it is urgently necessary to continue -- without hesitation, broadly, in an engaged manner and everywhere -- the tested course of self-management, harmony and togetherness and the uncompromising resistance against all hostile activities.

DPRK FOREIGN MINISTER HO TAM CONCLUDES VISIT

Meets With Culafic

AU161819 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 82 p 1

[Text] (TANJUG) -- Dobroslav Culafic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, yesterday held talks with Ho Tam, candidate member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] and DPRK minister of foreign affairs.

Dobroslav Culafic and Ho Tam noted with satisfaction that the relations and cooperation between the LCY and the KWP and between our two socialist and nonaligned countries were developing successfully on the basis of well-known principles that were adopted during the meeting between President Josip Broz Tito and Kim Il-song.

Dobroslav Culafic spoke extensively about the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress.

Certain current international problems, as well as problems of relations and cooperation among the communists, workers and other progressive and democratic parties and movements were also discussed in the talks.

Ho Tam thanked the LCY for its support for the struggle of the KWP and the Korean people for a peaceful unification of the country.

Views Nonaligned News Pool

LD161346 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1137 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- Ho Tam, foreign minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, today emphasized the importance of the forthcoming meeting of the coordinating committee of the pool of news agencies of the non-aligned countries for a further promotion of cooperation in the field of information and for mutual cooperation among their movement in general.

During his several-day visit to Yugoslavia, Ho Tam, vice premier of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, visited the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG today.

The next meeting of the coordinating committee of the pool, in which some eighty news agencies of the nonaligned countries cooperate, is to be held in Pyongyang, capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in [word indistinct] this year.

In a talk with TANJUG editors, Ho Tam [words indistinct] the role played by the Yugoslav news agency in the exchange of news items among the nonaligned countries. TANJUG serves as one of the pool's redistribution centers.

Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea can serve as an example of cooperation among nonaligned socialist countries, Ho Tam pointed out.

Departure, Press Release

LD162222 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- Vice-Premier of the Administration Council and Foreign Minister of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Ho Tam today ended his five-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia and left for Pyongyang.

A press release on the visit says that the identity of, or the similarity between, the two countries stands on all the most important questions of international relations and activities in the Movement of Non-alignment were noted in Ho Tam's talks with Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec and other Yugoslav leaders. The successful, continuous development of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the DPR of Korea was noted with pleasure, with both sides expressing the desire for its strengthening and expansion in all domains.

In their talks, Ho Tam and Josip Vrhovec laid emphasis on the readiness of the DPR of Korea and Yugoslavia to jointly contribute towards the strengthening of non-aligned countries activity upon the authentic principles of the Movement of Non-alignment for the purposes of maintaining world peace and security, strengthening the independence of non-aligned countries and developing international political and economic relations based on equality.

The press release goes on to say that the Ho Tam-Vrhovec talks included an exchange of views on all questions of importance to successful preparations for, and the holding of, the seventh summit of the heads of state or government of non-aligned countries scheduled for next autumn in Baghdad. Successful holding of the summit was assessed as being of wider significance for the development of international relations, in view of the present tense international situation.

The Yugoslav side highly appraised the initiative of the DPR of Korea for a peaceful reunification of the country and stressed its significance for the maintenance of peace, security and stability in the region. Yugoslav leaders pointed out that Yugoslavia would continue to support initiatives of the DPR of Korea for a peaceful and democratic unification of the people in the north and the south of the country.

BULGARIAN MEDIA REPORTAGE ON TODOROV VISIT

Talks in Croatia

AU121112 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (BTA) -- The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation led by Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and National Assembly chairman, visited the SR [Socialist Republic] of Croatia yesterday. In Zagreb the delegation was received by Mr Nikola Segota, chairman of the Socio-political Council of the Sabor [Assembly] of the SR of Croatia, Mr Ivo Sarajcic, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Policy and International Relations of the Sabor, and other Croatian leaders.

The Bulgarian parliamentarians were shown round the Zagreb mechanical engineering combine of "Rade Koncar". For the last two years "Rade Koncar" has maintained active production relations with kindred Bulgarian industrial enterprises as well as with the Bulgarian foreign trade organisation of "Elektroimpeks". According to the export manager of the works, through applying new modern forms of joint production and specialization, between "Rade Koncar" and the respective Bulgarian enterprises there exist possibilities for reciprocal trade to have reached 50-60 million dollars by the end of the five-year period.

Then talks were held of the delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly with a delegation of the Sabor of the SR of Croatia, led by Sabor Chairman Jure Bilic. Mr Stanko Todorov informed the Croatian parliamentarians about the fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and about Bulgaria's socio-economic tasks. He dwelt on the requirement for intensification of the economy. The head of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation elaborated on the BCP social programme for further raising the living standard of the Bulgarian workers.

Mr Stanko Todorov found that the cooperation of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia was developing successfully. During the current five-year period reciprocal trade is planned to exceed three milliard dollars. This makes it imperative to employ new modern forms of cooperation on a long-term basis. Prompted by this, the National Assembly chairman expressed the conviction that the forthcoming joint economic exhibition of the SR of Croatia and the SR of Slovenia in Sofia will offer an opportunity for a better acquaintance with the economic potential and the prospects to mutually advantageous cooperation with those two Yugoslav republics. Mr Stanko Todorov also stressed that the traditional historical ties between the Bulgarian and Croatian people are a pledge for an ever more active reciprocal cultural cooperation in the future.

Mr Jure Bilic informed the delegation about the economic development of the SR of Croatia. The Sabor chairman expressed Yugoslavia's readiness to develop good relations of friendship and cooperation with the neighbouring states, including Bulgaria. This is why it is necessary to develop our relations in the spheres of the economy, culture, sport and others. The better we know each other, the greater our mutual trust, Mr Jure Bilic emphasized.

The talks proceeded in an atmosphere of sincerity and friendship.

Meetings With Leaders

AU121951 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 12 Mar 82

[BTA correspondent's report from Belgrade on Todorov meeting SFRY leaders]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (BTA) -- The Bulgarian parliamentary delegation, led by Mr Stanko Todorov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly, was received in succession by the president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, Mr Veselin Djuranovic, and by the president of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia, Mr Sergej Kraigher. At the meetings, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, the development of bilateral relations and the role of the two parliaments for their deepening in all spheres of life were discussed earnestly.

Special attention was paid to the economic cooperation, especially along lines of industrial joint production between the two countries. Views were exchanged on the most topical international problems and the situation on the Balkan Peninsula. Stressed was the necessity of joint efforts for consolidation of world peace, against the arms race. It was stressed mutually that the presence of some outstanding [words indistinct] between the two countries should not be an obstacle for the advancement of all-round cooperation.

Mr Stanko Todorov and the member of the delegation, Mr Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the Central Committee of the BCP, met the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, Mr Dusan Dragosavac. Mr Todorov and Mr Dragosavac informed each other of the tasks the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Yugoslav Communists are facing in the construction of socialism in the two countries. Views were exchanged on some problems of the international workers and communist movement and on the possibilities to expand cooperation between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the League of Yugoslav Communists.

SERBIAN LC PRESIDIUM CRITICIZES NIN, MLADOST

LD151812 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG) -- The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium discussed at its session today some phenomena in the public media. On this occasion it was stated that following the joint session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium, a broad action was set in train by League of Communists organizations, editorial boards, and program and publishing councils in public media concerning the implementation of the attitudes adopted at that session. However, in some editorial boards there are still phenomena which cannot be interpreted as accidental mistakes and a lack of political vigilance but which are actually organized activity from liberalist and antiself-managing positions. Resistance to the fundamental demand of the Serbian League of Communists that the editorial policy of public media be founded on League of Communists policy (?is still) evident. It, therefore, happens that from time to time individual articles dispute to a greater or lesser degree the values and achievements of our revolution and our sociopolitical system. An expression of such behavior is found in the interview with writer Moma Kapor, published recently in the paper MLADOST. Statements made by this writer do not differ from the speeches made by the fanatical enemies of Socialist Yugoslavia.

Entirely untenable standpoints coming from the petit-bourgeois and anticommunsit ideological horizon are also included in the democratic critical discussions which are an essential feature of our social life and of the activity of public information media. This is also demonstrated in this case. Typical petit-bourgeois conformists all of a sudden emerge as alleged free thinkers. In their coffeehouse interviews, they in fact negate everything which is liberating and progressive in our society.

The question of the political and social responsibility of the editorial boards of papers which provide space in their papers for such views is raised. Nothing can justify the action of responsible communists in the MLADOST editorial board, which has carried the abovementioned interview as well as the uncritical carrying of attitudes from this interview by NIN. The alleged objectivity of NIN, which carries these attitudes within the context of a critical reaction to Kapor's interview without a word of its own commentary, is in fact contrary to LCY policy. The Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium believes that the communists of MLADOST and NIN are dutybound to ascertain the concrete party and political responsibility of the protagonists of this case.

Neither engaging in spurious neutrality nor missing in an opportunist way the opportunity to react critically to such phenomena are acceptable to the League of Communists. It is the duty of communists to react to this and to throw light clearly on the political substance of so-called critical views of this kind about our past and present.

PROPOSED SERBIAN LC STATUTE AMENDMENTS OUTLINED

AU121450 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 82 p 5

[R. Kljajic report]

[Summary] At the end of this month, communists in Serbia will begin a public debate on proposed amendments and supplements to the statute of the League of Communists of Serbia, which the Statutory Commission adopted last week. The proposed amendments have resulted from practice and experiences gained in the work of the League of Communists since the last congress. The general principles of the statute begin with the following sentence: "The League of Communists of Serbia is a revolutionary leading ideopolitical united organization of the workers class and working people in the Socialist Republic of Serbia."

Tito's initiative on the further development of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility is incorporated in the statute's preamble. "The preamble also sets forth the efforts of the League of Communists for: a limited duration of the term of office of officials, changeability of cadres, mobility, a reduction in the number of posts held by any one person, development of dialogue, the struggle of opinions and preventing the appearance of careerism, leaderism and privatization of functions."

The proposed amendments and supplements define in detail the activity of members of the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance, trade unions, Socialist Youth Federation, Veterans Federation and in delegate assemblies. The organizations of the League of Communists are obliged to consistently adhere to the adopted criteria for the admission of members and are obliged to review at least once a year the social-class structure and movement of members. The basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists are obliged to take ideopolitical measures against members of the League of Communists who do not carry out their tasks, who behave irresponsible and who act contrary to the policy of the League of Communists.

"Another new element of democratic centralism is that higher forums are obliged to assist lower organs in implementing the adopted policy and the positions of the League of Communists, and they are obliged to direct their activity and evaluate their work. The higher organs and forums are given the right and obligation to change the decisions and to oppose the positions of the lower organs and the basic organizations of the League of Communists if they are not in accordance with the programmatic goals, policy and positions of the LCY and the League of Communists of Serbia. In addition to being a statutory norm, democratic centralism is now also defined as a factor which represents and ensures the consolidation of brotherhood and unity and the togetherness of the republic and provinces."

Several proposals will be put up for public discussion. The first refers to a proposal to review the quorum necessary for decisionmaking at party meetings. The second proposal deals with possibility of abstaining from voting for a decision or for obligatory voting. The third proposal deals with the length of the term of office for political executive posts in the organs of the League of Communists. It is proposed that the term of office be defined by a decision of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia or that the term of office of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia should last 1 year and that of the secretary of the Presidium 2 years. The term of office of presidents of the communal committees, the intercommunal conference, the city committee and of secretariat of these organs should last 2 years.

It is also proposed that an obligatory workers, majority should be introduced in the organs of the League of Communists. For the first time the statute prevents a multiplication of political professionalism and imposes the condition that the cadres return to associated labor once their term of office in political posts is over. The possibility of nominating the same or a larger number of persons than elected to the forums of the League of Communists is left open. A decision on whether the election of the executive-political organs of the League of Communists will be by secret ballot or open ballot will be made by the ninth congress of the League of Communists.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA PRESIDENCY DISCUSSES SECURITY

LD122304 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Mar (TANJUG) -- At its session chaired by Raif Dizdarevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has discussed the work of the State Security Service of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in 1981 and the directions of its activity in 1982.

The Presidency noted that the State Security Service has operated in line with the Constitution and the legislative powers, that last year, in operating as part of the entire system of social self-protection, it achieved very good results in preventing organized enemy activity directed at undermining and threatening our socialist self-managing system and all basic achievements of the socialist revolution. The service achieved such results thanks to the increasingly developed system of social self-protection in which working people and citizens are increasingly involved. Though in the past period attempts at enemy activity were intensified, any more serious enemy activity in the republic and the political subversive and terrorist activity which people attempt to organized from abroad was prevented through efficient activity of the entire system of social self-protection.

The Presidency noted that last year the State Security Service informed even more regularly and extensively the relevant sociopolitical, state and self-managing organs and organizations in the republic, municipalities, local communities and organizations of associated labor of the knowledge at which it arrived concerning the activity and attempts by external and internal enemy, of the measures which it took and of other issues of significance for the security of the republic and country. As reported, the Presidency made a positive assessment of and endorsed the program orientation of the State Security Service this year and pointed out in particular the tasks to which the service has to pay particular attention.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA ASSEMBLY BODY VIEWS DEFENSE

LD162320 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- At a session held today on the state of preparations for national defense in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina established that significant activities had continued during the past year in the preparations for all-people's defense and social self-protection, with a considerable degree of involvement and broad action of all organized socialist forces. There has been constant activity aimed at socializing defense preparations, increasing working people's and citizens, awareness, and the involvement and ceaseless work of the organs of self-management, all-people's defense, and social self-protection at all levels. This has contributed to the high level of defense and self-protection organization in the republic and to the improved functioning of the system and total defense power in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Of particular importance is the fact that during the work on the adoption of the social plans for the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the period from 1981-85, particular attention was paid to the preparation and adoption of development plans which defined the further directions and possibilities for the development of all components of all-people's defense.

Significant results were achieved in the field of normative-juridical activities, especially in the form of supplementing the statutes, self-mangging decisions and other documents on national defense in the local communities,organizations of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities, as well as in the form of making preparations for the adoption of the new republican law on national defense.

Work has been stepped up in the past year on bringing plans up to date and expanding them at all levels. However, this work is running behind schedule in local communities and a number of organizations of associated labor, despite all the results achieved. Because of this, greater attention will have to be paid to these questions in the next period, especially in coordinating plans.

REPORT ON BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC PLENUM ISSUED

LD122320 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Mar (TANJUG) -- The conditions in which the League of Communists and all organized socialist forces wage the struggle for the development of socialist self-management are complex. They are weighed down by contradictions which emerge to a significant extent also as the consequence of internal problems and weaknesses in implementing the policy of the socioeconomic development and the increasingly complex economic and political situation in the world. This assessment was presented in the summary of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee of the debate on the ideological and political trends in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Yugoslavia, held on 26 February and 5 March this year.

The socioeconomic situation, the summary says, is still encumbered by problems which manifest themselves in the difficult conditions of supplying the industry with raw materials and reproduction materials, and in particular with energy raw materials, temporary shortages of some consumer goods, overstrained consumption, in particular of investment consumptionn and in the still insufficient exports, low productivity and the high indebtedness of the country abroad.

Despite a considerable increase in personal incomes owing to inflation and the high increase in prices, the drop in the real standard of living of the working people and citizens has continued. In some parts of the development of the political and economic system there is stagnation, especially in the sphere of expanded reproduction, free exchange of labor, economic relations with other countries, in particular as regards the acquisition and distribution of foreign exchange. Some major issues significant for the further development of society have remained unresolved for quite some time. Individual agreements of joint interest, the summary says, are reached only slowly. Self-managing processes and relations in many spheres of social reproduction are introduced and developed only slowly and this, among other things, strengthens statist tendencies and the role of the state and of state organs in regulating the trends of social reproduction. This reproduction, as assessed, is thus being maintained, spread and strengthened outside the framework of the Law on Associated Labor.

The summary continues to present in detail the major results of the self-managing socioeconomic development achieved even in such conditions. The summary mentions the assessment expressed at the earlier mentioned session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee. This says that the forecasts about various exponents of antiself-managing and antisocialist tendencies trying, following Comrade Tito's death, to oppose with even greater strength the League of Communists policy, have proved to be true. This is what the summary says about this:

Tendencies by which an attempt is made to devalue the basic achievemnts of the socialist revolution have become more strongly manifest in recent time.

The targets are also many most prominent cadres of the revolution; there are also attempts to call into question the prestige and work of Comrades Tito and Kardelj, to raise some isues of our federal system, of the role and equality of socialist republics and provinces, to dispute the national identity of individual people in our country and, in particular, to negate the ability of the self-managing system to overcome the contradictions in the material and social development. Thus a way out is offered from a different model of social relations.

It is obvious, the summary adds,that the tendencies aimed at opening up in society the process of reexamining some fundamental political and social orientations -- without also making in this context a constructive contribution to the speedier self-managing development -- are by their substance and their method of manifesting themselves serving to undermine socialist self-management. Though an attempt is made to cover up these tendencies, the fact that their exponents do not offer a way out of the difficulties and problems by way of implementing the socioeconomic development clearly indicates their true background and motives, their antiself-managing character.

What causes serious concern, in the Central Committee's assessment, is also the knowledge that some of the negative tendencies and types of behavior also stem from individual League of Cummunists members. This causes confusion and dilemmas among the working class, the working people and citizens. It is not rare that information media and other opportunities for making public statements are used to spread such views.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee points in particular to the need for timely recognition and political assessment of nationalistic phenomena and of their exponents. Every kind of nationalism, the summary stresses, is directed against brotherhood and unity and equality of our nations and nationalities and against the unity of Yugoslavia. Nationalism has been and remains an ideology and a practice to which all anti-socialist and antiself-managing forces, groups and individuals rally. Thus, the struggle against any kind of mationalism and against all its negative forms of manifestation remains the long-term task of organized socialist forces, League of Cummunists members and of all other progressive people.

The summary deals also with the behavior by information media in some of which such tendencies have recently become manifest. The basic values of the socialist revolution -- the summary says -- are attacked, some individual issues are treated in a sensationalist manner, untruths about events and people, most frequently about the most prominent cadres, are being spread among the public.

Slander and fabrications are being spread with the evident intention of compromising individual communists who are fully committed to the struggle which the LCY now wages. The situation and relations in an environment are often reported by tendentious and malicious presentation of only the weaknesses and problems. The summary also "reviews" the recent debates on the place and role of printed public information media and says: It is often stressed that the above-mentioned tendencies and phenomena chiefly lap at the illustrated entertainment press. But practice has shown that some of these tendencies also appear in the columns of some daily and weekly informative political papers, in periodicals and publicist publications and in some radio and television transmissions. Some tendencies known from the earlier period repeat themselves, but some new ones too are added to them, the summary says.

Some individuals continue to negate the national identify of Muslims. Some of them have also raised the issue of constituting Bosnia-Hercegovina as a socialist republic by proceeding from theincaccurate and unacceptable (?thesis) that the basis for the constituting of republics in our conditions is the existence of one nation only, that is, that the nation is the exclusive constitutive element of the statehood and that other nations and nationalities living in these republics are not such elements.

In this context the class characteristics of the statehood of socialist republics are as a rule being ignored. Some individuals even today, the summary says, cannot and do not want to understand that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a national state of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims living in it as well as of members of all other nations and nationalities living in it. They thus try to call into question the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia concept of our federation.

The Central Committee noted that in the conditions of exacerbated international economic and political relations and the problems in implementing the socioeconomic development in the country, negative tendencies which encumber our reality -- if there is no decisive and united activity against them through the action of the entire League of Communists -- could inflict serious damage to the development of socialist self-management, weaken the League of Communists' prestige and its historical role of the vanguard of the working class.

Stressing the historical and direct responsibility of the League of Communists and of every one of its members for the development of the socialist revolution, for the consolidation of equality, brotherhood, unity, socialist self-management, nonaligned and independent position of Yugoslavia, the summary notes that the phenomenon of negative tendencies in the present social situation is to a considerable extent the result of the insufficient training of a number of League of Communists organs and organizations and of inconsistency in implementing the determined policy. In this context the assessment is presented to the effect that in some organizations there is not enough vigilance and decisiveness and [word indistinct] by communists in opposing negative tendencies. Members of the League of Communists and even individual organizations, it is said, do not react to many negative manifestations even when it is a question of very impudent attacks on the gains of the revolution and the most prominent communists, tested fighters for the development of socialist self-management and the unity of the League of Communists.

In pointing out that in the League of Communists there are also people with different views even of the fundamental orientations, and even people who publicly act from positions which are contrary to the LCY and its policy, the Central Committee stresses in particular the need for differentiation in the League of Communists' ranks, above all, of those members whose attitudes and activity are directly opposed to the League of Communists policy. Members of the League of Communists who have difficulties with coping in practice and who are passive in ideopolitical activity, the summary says, should be helped through more organized and more meaningful ideopolitical work; they should be trained for action and it should be made possible for them to eliminate weaknesses and prove their readiness to implement the League of Communists policy through concrete work and activity. If nevertheless individual League of Communists members are not ready or do not wish to carry the burden of the obligations of a League of Communists member, it should be made possible for them to leave the League of Communists without the application of measures of ideopolitical responsibility.

The Central Committee, the summary says in conclusion, stressed again the need for decisive struggle for economic stabilization. This is also the condition for eliminating some hotbeds which could also lead to disruptions in the political mood of the working people and citizens. In this sense this high-ranking party forum stresses the topical and long-term nature of the League of Communists' tasks contained in the attitudes of the 21st LCY Central Committee session and in the directives of the 15th Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee session. It is the obligation of League of Communists members, organizations and organs to implement them by developing the broadest ideopolitical activity, consistently and completely. This holds particularly for the remuneration of productive work and creative activity, more decisive struggle for greater social and individual productivity and saving at all levels of social organizing and for even more vigorous (?encouragement of the process) of pooling labor and resources on income-based relations.

PAVLE GAZI ON SELF-MANAGEMENT 'STANDSTILL'

LD151422 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 15 Mar 82

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG) -- A turn must be made at the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) towards intensifying self-management linkage and association and the development of income-based relations, said Executive Secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Pavle Gazi in an interview with TANJUG. He said the further affirmation of self-management should incapacitate the technocratic concept of decision-making and development.

Gazi assessed that self-management linkage and association had reached a standstill because of the effect of statist and bureaucratic relations on these processes. As a result, tendencies towards the administrative regulation of socio-economic relations have grown and are curbing the activities of basic organizations of associated labour, he said. Such relations have given birth to trend toward autarky which is not typical of self-management, Gazi assessed. As an example, he cited the insularizing and partializing of economic trends within municipal, republican and provincial borders. This, he underlined, cannot be characteristic of the integral Yugoslav market.

Gazi criticized the over-emphasized decision-making of factors outside the economy and pointed out the existence of excessive administrative regulations. He also underlined the fact that conditions for economic operation are not set upon economic foundations and that this considerably depreciates the market.

Gazi pointed to the insufficiently effective coordination of the economic policies of the republics and provinces within the framework of the common Yugoslav policy of economic development. He also noted the emergence of the proponents of views unacceptable for the Yugoslav self-management system. On the one hand, some of them link national economies with republican and provincial monopolies, irrespective of the development of the Yugoslav economy as a whole and international economic relations, he said. On the other, appearing too are the advocates of the old centralistic concept according to which the federation takes over the responsibility for development for the republics and provinces. Gazi stressed that these and similar concepts were not along the main line of socialist self-management.

In conclusion of the interview Pavle Gazi stated that Yugoslavia is in a phase of self-management and economic development in which many measures for economic stabilization and its effects are being reconsidered. He emphasized that that policy should be accommodated to the needs of the present level of development, to adequate adjustment to the international division of labor and to stimulation of the development of self-management. Speaking about the application of provisional economic measures by the Yugoslav Government, Pavle Gazi said that they should not be avoided when concrete situation demands them and when they are in accordance with legal and constitutional powers.

TURNOUT REPORTED IN MACEDONIAN ELECTIONS

AU161817 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 82 p 3

[Z. Cerovic report]

[Summary] Skopje, 13 Mar -- According to the initial data reaching the Republican Council of the Macedonian Trade Union Federation last night, over 362,000 working people out of 420,000 employed persons, or 86 percent of those employed, voted in yesterday's elections of members to the delegations and of delegates of the sociopolitical and self-managing interest communities in the organizations of associated labor in Macedonia. In the 1,993 organizations of associated labor, 6,034 delegations with 64,856 members of delegations were elected.

Tomorrow over 1.1 million voters will vote for members of delegations and for delegates of the local communities and the communities of private farmers, as well as for delegates of the sociopolitical chambers of the communal assemblies.